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Eric M. Moormann

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PREFACE

This book is the result of an enlargement of my study for my inaugural address at the Radboud University at Nijmegen and a conference at the German Archaeological Institute at Rome, both of which took place in 2003. Other presentations were given in Austin, Texas; Berlin, London and Oxford. Some elements have been published in Dutch in *Een goddelijk interieur. Geschilderde decoraties in heiligdommen in de Romeinse wereld* ('A Divine Interior. Painted Decorations in Sanctuaries in the Roman World,' 2003). While preparing this paper, I discovered so much useful information that I became convinced that a collection of known and unknown facts and notions concerning painted temple decorations would not go amiss, thus resulting in this publication.

I would like to thank several friends and colleagues: Claudine Allag, Alix Barbet, Nicole Blanc, Sible de Blaauw, Frederick Brenk, Ton Derks, Lucinda Dirven, Hélène Eristov, Michał Galikowski, Rüdiger Goggräfe, Carmen Guiral y Pelegrín, Olaf Kaper, Roger Ling, Paul Meyboom, Stephan Mols, David Rijser, Leonard Rutgers, Filli Rossi, Benjamin Rous, Tesse Stek, Marie José Strazzulla, Volker Michael Strocka and Miguel-John Versluys for important information and suggestions after reading the whole or sections of this text. They and others offered additions and corrections as well as images. Thomas Fröhlich, Director of the Library of the German Institute at Rome, authorized the reproduction of antiquarian images from Mazois and Steinbüchel. The Superintendent of Pompeii, Pier Giovanni Guzzo, and the Superintendents of Ostia, Anna Gallina Zevi and Margherita Bedello Tata, kindly gave permission to study relevant monuments at Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia. Mrs Bedello Tata also provided photographic material. Vincent Hunink critically assessed and improved my translations from Greek and Latin as well as my observations about the literary testimonies. Heather van Tress kindly read the first draft and helped polish my English. John Clarke read one of the last versions and made suggestions for many improvements. Finally I thank Isabelle Vella Gregory who was my severe editor of the final version.

Amsterdam and Nijmegen, January 2011

Introduction

The ancient practice of decorating sacred buildings differs greatly from that in previous cultures and contemporary or later ones, where sanctuaries are recognisable from exterior and interior alike as such.¹ The architecture, form, building elements and decoration (e.g. paintings) betray at first glance where the visitor is - in an Egyptian temple, in a Catholic cathedral, in a Protestant church, in a mosque or a Buddhist temple. An image of the god or saint in the façade informs the viewer about the god or saint venerated here. In the case of an icon-forbidding religion, there may be a token like the Holy Cross or the Star of David or the presence of an architectural feature like a minaret. The interior of the shrines also plays a significant role in helping to identify the purpose and religious affiliation of the building from the moment worshippers enter and address the gods and saints within the building. We recognise the mihrab in the mosque, the altars in most other religious buildings, the statues, icons and mural decorations displaying the venerated persons and their entourage. In the latter case, the iconographical programmes or schemes may be fixed so that the definition of the specific figure worshipped is not immediately clear, but an attentive look will soon reveal who is presiding there.

When we turn to Antiquity, we see that the exterior of 'classical' Greek and Roman temple is recognisable immediately thanks to typical features like the stylobate, peripteros, podium and façade. This does not hold true for many other shrines that both architecturally and in the sense of decoration often do not differ notably from houses.

Decorations in painted form within religious complexes of the ancient world have not yet been studied as a genre – if this word can serve to indicate the specific case – and I hope that this book will fill a gap. Current research on exterior decorations of religious buildings in general shows a major interest in the sculpted decorations, which became fashionable in the Greek and Etruscan worlds in the early sixth century BC and in Rome, especially from the late Republican era onwards, than in the paintings and mosaics on walls and floors.² Such adornments and revetments - preferably in marble, but even those in limestone and terracotta - and, especially, sculptural decorations (including those in terracotta) have a stronger visual appeal to the person approaching the sacred building.³ City states, Hellenistic kings and generals, Roman emperors and other prominent personalities in the ancient world wanted to demonstrate their pretensions to the community of gods and citizens and the erection of sacred buildings was a good way to show their positive feelings to all. In the Greek world competition between poleis surely played an important role: the tyrants on Sicily, for example, were the men who ordered the monumental temples in Syracuse, Akragas and Selinous. Other clear examples of architecturally impressive sacred monuments in an urban context are the above-mentioned canonical Greek temples, Etruscan

¹ An impressive holistic overview of cult buildings in the Europe, Asia and the Americas from the Neolithic to the end of the fourth century AD is given in Wightman 2007. Following his wish to put together all types of sacred architecture from many cultures, most chapters are kept neatly separated from each other, each discussing a specific geographic or cultural area. The last chapters, however, address general problems like sacred space and identity and the meaning of cult buildings. See also pp. 899-904. For ancient and early

Christian cult buildings, see De Blaauw 2007.

² E.g. for the latter group Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 69-78; cf. the works cited in the following notes.

³ For terracotta decorations in Etruscan, Italic and Roman temples in Italy, see, for instance, almost all contributions in I. Edlund-Berry, G. Greco and J. Kenfield, eds., *Deliciae Fictiles III. Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy: New Discoveries and Interpretations*, Oxford 2006.

and Latial shrines in towns like Veii and Satricum, and Roman temples from the late Republic, culminating in marble constructions of the Augustan period in Rome itself, e.g. the Temple of Apollo in Circo, excellently reconstructed by Alessandro Viscogliosi,⁴ the Temple of Apollo Actiacus on the Palatine known mostly from literary sources,⁵ and the complex of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum.⁶ In Rome, the swift transition from temples with terracotta, painted and stucco decorations to marble ones is particularly evident. As a result earlier temples were considered old-fashioned and poor. However, some temples were deemed to be important because of their antiquity and ritual significance and were thus not seen as old-fashioned.

We may ask why this image is so confusing. To begin with, we only know very few instances of patrons of temples (or a part of them) and what they intended with their commission. Many texts mention the erection of a temple after a battle, for example, or as thanks to good fortune bestowed on the patron, or the reasons why a polis built a particular sacred monument. However, no text explains why the result of these dedications is exactly that building with those particular elements. At the same time, ancient sources give very little information about the practical process of temple construction and the rationale behind the choice of the architectural and decorative elements. As a result, when we approach a Greek or Roman temple, preserved by lucky circumstances, we can almost never see for which god the monument had been erected. The architecture itself is not particularly helpful. In the case of monumental sanctuaries the dimensions and the presence of columns and sumptuous façades, flights of steps and monumentality are part of the sacred, but they can also be found in other building types.⁷ Smaller sanctuaries even lack these features. Architecture is thus not the only characteristic to define the temple as such, but in many cases forms the first recognisable aspect. The impressive chain of temples on the northern rim of the plateau of Agrigento, the gigantic ruins of Temples A to G in Selinous (how illustrative these labels are!), and even the Erechtheion and the Parthenon on the Acropolis of Athens do not immediately allow the viewer to determine to which gods these buildings had been dedicated. The situation is not particularly more illuminating if we take into account the sculptural decoration from these temples, now mostly preserved in parts and far from the buildings themselves in museums. Why a giant Medusa in the pediment of the Temple of Artemis in Corfu, why two Trojan Wars in the pediments of the Temple of Athena Aphaia in Aegina (Athena is present here, but is not taking part in the fights), why Herakles on the metopes of the Temple of Zeus in Olympia? In most cases an explanation is to be found after a painstaking process of analysing the not so obvious mythical and historical connections associated with a particular site. It is not until the construction of the Parthenon that we encounter a monument in Hellas displaying a sculptural programme that connects every element to the goddess. Directing his or her gaze to the west pediment, the visitor who had arrived through the Propylaea could see who the 'boss' was on the hill: unmistakably Athena triumphing over her mighty uncle Poseidon. As to the interior of the classical Greek and Roman temple, one may expect that the cult statue made clear who was living here – and this turns out to be the case at Athens or Olympia – but we remain in the dark about the remainder of the decoration of the naos or cella, conceived as the house of the god. The ancient visitor

⁴ A. Viscogliosi, *LTUR* I (1993) 49-54 mentions Greek paintings still visible at the time (see Pliny, *NH* 35.99); Viscogliosi 1996. Gurval 1995, 115-119 on the political impact of Sosius' temple. For Greek Sicily see Marconi 2007.

⁵ P. Gros, *LTUR* I (1993) 54-57 lists the rich materials and works of art mentioned in the sources. See also Gurval 1995, 111-131 and the works of art mentioned *passim* (see index at p. 323-324) as well as Hekster and Rich 2006. On the temple's polychromy, see Zink 2009.

⁶ A new, colourful reconstruction was presented in 2002 on the occasion of the exhibition on polychrome marbles in Rome: *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale*, exhibition

catalogue, Rome 2002, 109-122. On the temple V. Kockel, *LTUR* II (1995) 289-295, esp. 291 and Ganzert 2000, 103-110. In general on Augustan sacred buildings see Gros 1976. On the increasing use of marble see also Pensabene 2007, XVII-XX. This monograph comprises a thorough study of the consumption of marble in Ostia.

⁷ For Greek temples see the manuals by Hellmann 2002, 2006; Spawforth 2006; Lippolis, Livadiotti and Rocco 2007; Marconi 2007. For the Roman temples see Gros 1976; 1998. These studies contain more detailed information and bibliographies on all sites mentioned in this book.

to the temple was generally excluded from the adyton and the cella and while the modern visitor may have such access, the interior arrangement of a temple still does not help clarify which deity was once worshipped there.⁸

This book will survey all the evidence with the aim of determining whether painted decoration is specific to temples as a distinct group of religious buildings. I will also examine whether there is a relationship between the iconography and the deity worshipped in a particular temple. Furthermore, I will examine to what degree paintings were similar to the marble decorations in sanctuaries and elsewhere, and if the murals differed from paintings found in the private sphere.⁹ Can we establish a typological sequence of building type, god and decoration? As will become evident in the course of this study, there are mainly two answers to these questions, depending on the character of the sanctuary. Greek and Roman temples lack, by and large, interior decorations displaying a unified iconographic programme. Instead they prefer the kind of decoration that we may call 'wallpaper' and that is also seen in other types of buildings. Shrines related to the mystery cults, on the other hand, display decorative programmes that aim at unity, or, at the very last, seek to illustrate some of the basic tenets held by those who congregated in these buildings. It is for this reason that I have chosen to focus on Mithraea in Chapter 7.

The Gallo-Roman temple at Elst (the Netherlands) has formed the starting point of my reflections gathered in this study: it is a complex situated next to Nijmegen, the city where I work, and it is one of the subjects I have studied for many years. The remains were discovered under the Gothic church that had been partly destroyed in September 1944 during the Battle of Arnhem. The ruins were subsequently studied before being restored and reused. Fragments of a panel decoration in the cella survived: a dado with marble imitations and ornaments like thyrsos supported a system of red panels, whereas candelabra embellished the black zones separating them (fig. 36-37). This form of mural decoration is known from different types of buildings - temples, public spaces and houses.¹⁰ If the Elst fragments had been found out of context, the connection with a religious building would have been far from evident. We must take into account, however, that the panels themselves could contain figural scenes which were specific for the room they adorned. Apart from plain red pieces, no fragments of figural elements have been found. The marble imitations in the dado enhanced the function of the building as a temple; many examples are also known from private spaces.

We can conclude, for the moment, that in light of their iconography the Elst wall paintings were not at all inspired by the function of the building. Apparently, then, the decorators of the temple either had not received specific instructions or there was no such specific decorative scheme available. Perhaps it was simply self-evident to them to employ a modest scheme in a cult room where the focus would be the cult statue. The important point, however, is that the temple at Elst is not an isolated case. In fact, it is precisely the lack of figurative elements that this temple has in common with numerous temples in other parts of the Greco-Roman world, and it is this rather intriguing phenomenon that is at the core of this study.

Consequently, this study presents a collection of painted decoration in temples in the Greek and Roman

⁸ E.g. Elsner 1995. I will not enter into the specific iconographic programmes of the sculpted decoration. As to the iconography of Greek temples see Knell 1990 and Schultz and Von den Hoff 2008. On cult statues see Martin 1987 and T. Hölscher, *Kultbild, ThesCRA IV* (2005) 52-65. On the notion of the house of the gods, see Wightman 2007, 905.

⁹ See Muth 1998 and De Angelis, Muth and Hölscher 1999. On various aspects of temples see also *Cahiers Centre G. Glotz* 8 (1997). C. Keybold, *Tempel, ThesCRA IV* (2005) 106 has some notes on interior decoration of temples; there are many references to figural scenes, but these are mainly wooden panels and rarely murals.

¹⁰ With reference to Temple II, Bogaers 1955, 134 notes [my translation]: "After what has been said before, finally it can be put forward in respect to the paintings in Temple II that apparently there existed no relationship between the temple building and the type of murals found in the cella. Nothing can be found in the decoration on the walls that refers to the sort of building to which it belonged. The motifs of the paintings are independent from the decorated room and the cult connected with it." He refers in his note 8 to Drack 1950, 9 for a similar remark, but there nothing of the kind can be found.

world and investigates whether these murals are specific to this group of buildings, be it in a formal or iconographical sense. Much information can be derived from the remains of religious buildings in towns like Pompeii, Ostia and Dura Europos and the numerous fragments of plaster found in excavations all over the ancient world. As a matter of fact, few buildings can be studied *in situ* and, therefore, all the wall plaster fragments are important – miniscule as they may be. Even though the evidence is relatively plentiful and deriving from all parts of the ancient world, it has never been studied systematically, let alone comprehensively. The archaeological evidence can be supplemented by ancient texts, which fall into two categories. First, we have the shorter or longer descriptions of, and references to, temples in the Greek and Roman historical and ‘encyclopaedic’ texts (e.g. Plutarch and the Elder Pliny), descriptions of Greece (e.g. Pausanias) and technical books (Vitruvius). In some cases poetic evocations, like Propertius’ description of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, can also be informative. Second, there are descriptions of imaginary monuments in poetic texts, cast in the shape of *ekphraseis*, which may illustrate our reconstructions of ancient temple decorations. The first chapter is dedicated to this category of sources, the written material, where I also discuss to what extent texts can enrich our knowledge.

Extant examples of temple decorations¹¹ are investigated in this study and the question of whether they corresponded with the function of the building will be addressed wherever relevant. I shall mainly focus on murals in cellae, but the outer walls and portico decorations of sacred complexes are also taken into account. I exclude paintings on wooden panels, hung on the walls or exhibited on easels, the *pinakes*, which often were very famous and are frequently recorded in the literary sources.¹² I also exclude the polychrome decoration of architectural features like metopes, triglyphs, revetment plaques and acroteria.¹³ This study discusses exclusively wall paintings and mosaics found in the same context as the paintings. Besides, some examples of mosaics have been found in temples that do not (or no longer) possess painted wall decorations, e.g. the Temple of Zeus in Olympia,¹⁴ but the examples encountered while carrying out this research were in most cases of little value.

Another important point is the status and function of the sanctuaries. All examples mentioned thus far belong to the group of large, public and/or official temples, mostly related to the gods venerated in and by the polis and the state, whereas citizens shared the public functions offered to these gods and carried out in front of the temple’s entrance.¹⁵ The situation is different for semi-public or private cults practiced by private persons or groups of Greeks and Romans. The most intimate scale is that of the household shrine, e.g. the Roman *lararium*, consisting of a mobile or fixed altar with images and statuettes of the household gods. Here the patron and the members of the family brought modest offerings and performed prayers, hoping for their protection. This subject is excluded from my study since these cults belong to the private sphere of a family. A somewhat bigger scale

¹¹ I use here and elsewhere ‘temple’ to refer to a cult building, but am aware of the implications of the term.

¹² One may think of the numerous instances recorded by Pliny in Book 35 of his *Naturalis Historia*, for the greater part dedicated to painting. The reason in singling out many painters must be that their works are on display in public and religious buildings (in Pliny’s case, Roman monuments). A good overview is found in Isager 1991, 125-131 (great masters), 135-136 (‘The Second Best’). See also Bergmann 1995 on famous *pinakes*. Cf. the case of *pinakes* in the Temple of Aphrodite in Arados (Syria) by Pheidias, visited by Saint Peter (Liverani 2005).

¹³ E.g. terracotta plaques serving as metopes in the Temple of Apollo in Thermos (see Koch 2000) and those from Cerveteri, Falerii and Viganella (Roncalli 1965, 49-54). For Greek

terracotta elements Winter 1993 is fundamental. Cf. also the proceedings cited in note 3.

¹⁴ Salzmann 1982, 63, 117-118, pls. 71.5-6, 72.1-2: mosaic in the pronaos of *tesserae* and pebbles. It shows panels with a Triton and fish, probably applied in the first half of the third century BC. Since the images do not have any connection with the sanctuary and its occupant, the floor decoration may be seen as a modern carpet of the time and may have been a votive offering. Hellmann 2002, 260-261 mentions lozenges in the *tholoi* of Epidauros and Delphi, reflecting the ceiling cassettes and mosaics in Olympia discussed here, Lykosoura (Temple of Despoina) and Xanthos (Letoon B: small depictions of the attributes of Artemis and Apollo).

¹⁵ These are the principal features of a classical temple. See Klauck 1995, I, 35-37.

is that of the *Kultvereine*, who came together in *scholae*. These centres for veneration were normally included in a house, occupying a (formerly) private room. It could be that these spaces were regularly used in daily life by the inhabitants of the complex and only adapted during ceremonies. This means that, as opposed to the grand temples, the cella was used for prayer and offerings, for the cult practice, and that people used the room actively. Examples discussed here include shrines for the emperor's cult (Chapter 6) and the synagogue at Dura Europos (Chapter 8). More or less similar are the sanctuaries of mystery cults like the Isea and Mithraea, examined in Chapter 7. These sanctuaries share some of the special features listed for private cults: position within an existing house and use of the cella for cult practices. These differences may urge specific measurements in the sense of interior design and, in our case, of painted decoration. In these categories the cella is no longer the house of the god and can be compared with the cult room in Christian, Muslim and other sanctuaries, where the believers come together to pray.

On the basis of the observations made thus far, I have subdivided the book into nine chapters focusing on specific types of sanctuaries and/or particular features. The first chapter presents a collection and discussion of paintings recorded in ancient written sources. The following four chapters are devoted to the monumental, 'classical' shrines connected with public life in the towns of ancient Greece and Italy and the Roman provinces, including buildings used as the houses of the gods. Chapter 6 is dedicated to the shrines for the cult of the Roman emperors, which are, strikingly perhaps, not grand at all, but modest *sacella* created by specific groups of citizens or soldiers. Chapter 7 examines sanctuaries of a more private character, used for mystery cults where believers came together to worship these gods, bring offerings and share meals. Chapter 8 concentrates on Dura Europos, a town along the eastern border of the Roman Empire, where we find a rich dossier of shrines with specific decoration. Some conclusions drawn from the various enquiries are collected in Chapter 9. Within the chapters, the treatment is more or less chronological per town (Rome, Pompeii) and area (Italy, France).

Finally, it must be pointed out that there are substantial differences as to the length of the descriptions, discussions and analyses of the various monuments. These differences result from the archaeological material itself. Most temple complexes could only be treated much more summarily than I had expected when I started this research, which is especially the case with the temples in the provinces of the Roman Empire, for which reason inevitably large sections of chapters 2 to 5 have a rather descriptive character. The knowledge of the Pompeian cases – and hence the bibliography pertaining to it – is so much larger than that about the temples in the Roman provinces that, as a result, Pompeii dominates. The same is true for the group of Mithraea and for the towns of Herculaneum, Ostia and Dura Europos.

1 Paintings Described in Ancient Texts

The ancient sources do not abound in lengthy descriptions of painted decoration in shrines. Most records are no more than short references focusing on the artists themselves rather than their work or on technical details of their work. That does not mean, however, that these references are without interest for this investigation. These texts tell us about the prestige such paintings could have had and about their relative rarity or peculiarity. The sources can be divided into two categories, the first including information about real buildings (still extant or lost) and the second focusing on fictitious temples which only appear in literary texts. The latter category is represented by the genre of *ekphrasis* (see *infra*). The discussion focuses on the former category.

Textual sources provide information on:

1. artists
2. iconography
3. gods and their sanctuaries
4. patrons
5. technical details, including the first use of specific techniques.

Authors like Pliny and Pausanias are mainly interested in the oldest and/or the best, as well as peculiar details in images and technique. Historical accounts highlight the patrons of temple building or restoration. Therefore, the texts in general do not cover all aspects we are looking for simultaneously. That means that we know disproportionately much more about one single detail within a shrine and relatively little about the shrine as a whole. From the set of texts one gets the impression that temple decorations were unimportant except when showing specific imagery, the result a famous hand (either from an artist or in a technical sense) or decorating a particular sanctuary. All texts refer to monumental public temples, none describes shrines of private cults.

The location of the paintings, for example in the pronaos (προνάος), inside the naos (e.g. *interiores parietes*), on the outer walls, on the courtyard walls (παστάς, περίβολος), is rarely mentioned. Even the terms ἐν or in (in), ἐνταῦθα (here) are not conclusive, as 'in the temple' means most probably 'in the sanctuary' and not specifically 'within' the temple building.

It is striking that in *De Architectura* Vitruvius, our main written source on the construction of temples in antiquity, does not describe the interior decoration of the buildings in question, apart from the architectural features, in Books 3-4 (*On Temple Building*) and 7 (*On Painting*).¹ Vitruvius keeps silent because these data were either insignificant or were such common knowledge that they had no need of being recorded.

These introductory remarks may appear to diminish the value of the written sources, but they are included to indicate the limitations with which we have to deal. In fact, several texts instruct us about aspects we cannot learn from the archaeological remains, such as the work by prestigious artists and motifs chosen by patrons.

¹ Vitr., *De Arch.* 4.4. speaks about smoothing the walls' blocks.

GREEK TEMPLES

The most important Greek temples of the Archaic and Classical periods were constructed in limestone or marble. Ornaments and structural elements, such as capitals and epistyles, were painted, and we are rather well-informed about the shape and appearance of the cult rooms' interior walls. These walls were covered by a layer of white stucco that could either suggest a smooth wall or isodome masonry.² The cult statue of the god(s) who might have lived there dominated the space.

In this discussion on sources about paintings in Greek temples, special attention is paid to the iconographical programmes and the position of the decorations. As mentioned before, the numerous wooden *pinakes* are not taken into account, nor are coloured terracotta decorations like plates and roof ornaments; the focus lies on the fixed decorations.³ The literary sources describe various examples of painted Greek temples, although even here large monuments receive greater attention than smaller shrines.⁴

One of the oldest monuments with paintings mentioned in the sources, its only virtue being its antiquity, is a temple in Alphoneia with paintings by Kleanthes and Aregon, who are listed among the inventors of the *skiagraphia* by Pliny. Strabo also records the iconography, but we lack mention of, or reference to, the venerated deity and thus the themes cannot be analysed in detail:⁵

ἐν δὲ τῷ τῆς Ἀλφειονίας ἱερῷ γραφαὶ Κλεάνθους τε καὶ Ἀρήγοντος ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων, τοῦ μὲν Τροίας ἄλωσις καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς γοναί, τοῦ δ' Ἄρτεμις ἀναφορομένη ἐπὶ γρυπός, σφόδρα εἰδόκιμοι.

In the temple of Alphoneia there are paintings by Kleanthes and Aregon from Korinth. The first shows the Capture of Troy and the Birth of Athena, the second Artemis carried up by a griffon. They are very famous.

The world-famous chryselephantine cult statue by Pheidias in the naos of the Temple of Zeus in Olympia stood behind a limestone fence decorated by Panainos, a brother or nephew of the artist.⁶ These works are mentioned in several sources thanks to the importance of Pheidias and the eminence of the temple itself. The scenes showed myths in which the region Elis and the regional superhero Herakles played an important role. Strabo is our oldest source about this project and he calls Panainos a nephew, being the son of Pheidias' brother Pleistainetos:⁷

πολλὰ δὲ συνέπραξε τῷ Φειδίᾳ Πάναινος ὁ ζωγράφος, ἀδελφιδοῦς ὦν αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεργολάβος, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ξοάνου διὰ τῶν χρωμάτων κόσμησιν καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐσθῆτος· δείκνυνται δὲ καὶ γραφαὶ πολλάι τε καὶ θαυμασταὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκείνου ἔργα.

² See the succinct but rich overview in Hellmann 2002, 97-98, 229-262. On paintings in Greek temples see also Scheibler 1994, 138-152.

³ Cf. Winter 1993; Koch 1996 and 2000; Hellmann 2002, 254-255.

⁴ See SQ and *Recueil Milliet* 1985. Concerning this work and the information given in these sources see H. Eristov, RA 1987, 109-123.

⁵ Strabo 8.3.12.343c (= SQ 382; *Recueil Milliet* 1985, no. 62). Mentioned by Roncalli 1965, 54; Scheibler 1994, 55-56; Koch 1996, 23. They might have been table paintings. Cf.

also G. Bröker, *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* 1 (2001) 78 s.v. Aregon (probably sixth century BC); R. Vollkommer, *ibid.*, 413 s.v. Kleanthes (seventh century). On *skiagraphia* Pliny, NH 35.15 and the modern authors mentioned.

⁶ The latter seems more plausible. Koch 2000, 72-74 considers them brothers and Panainos is described as the polychrome painter of the Zeus Olympios. On Panainos: Völcker-Janssen 1987; Scheibler 1994, 145. See also Thomas 1976, 47, 51, 80, and W. Ehrhardt, *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* 2 (2004) 180-181.

⁷ Strabo 8.3.30 (SQ 698; *Recueil Milliet* 1985, no. 165).

The painter Panainos, a nephew and collaborator of Pheidias, helped him a lot in colouring the statue, especially its garments. Many admirable paintings by him are also shown all over the sanctuary.

This illustrates the importance of the persons who were responsible for the polychromy of statues. Pliny writes that Pheidias was considered as the painter, but the following is more probable:⁸

praeterea in confesso sit LXXX tertia fuisse fratrem eius Panaenum qui clipeum intus pinxit Elide Minervae, quam fecerat Colotes, discipulus Phidiae et ei in faciendo Iove Olympio adiutor.

Moreover, let it be admitted that in the eighty third Olympiad there was a brother of Pheidias, Panainos, who painted the inside of the shield of Minerva at Elis that was made by Kolotes, a disciple of Pheidias who was his assistant, when he made the Zeus Olympios.

Finally, we have important remarks by Pausanias in his long description of the Temple of Zeus:⁹

ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δὲ ἐρύματα τρόπον τοίχων πεποιημένα τὰ [δὲ] ἀπείργοντά ἐστι. τούτων τῶν ἐρυμάτων ὅσον μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστίν, ἀλήλιπται κυανῷ μόνον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν παρέχεται Παναίνου γραφάς. ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς ἐστὶ μὲν οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν Ἄτλας ἀνέχων, παρέστηκε δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐκδέξασθαι τὸ ἄχθος ἐθέλων τοῦ Ἀτλαντος, ἔτι δὲ Θησεύς τε καὶ Πειρίθους καὶ Ἑλλάς τε καὶ Σαλαμίς ἔχουσα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἄκραις ποιούμενον κόσμον, Ἡρακλέους τε τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων τὸ ἐς τὸν λέοντα τὸν ἐν Νεμέᾳ. καὶ τὸ ἐς Κασσάνδραν παρανόμημα Αἴαντος, Ἴπποδάμειά τε ἡ Οἰνομάου σὺν τῇ μητρὶ καὶ Προμηθεὺς ἔτι ἐχόμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἤρται· λέγεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὥς ἀποκτείνει μὲν τὸν αἰετὸν ὃς ἐν τῷ Κανκάσῳ τὸν Προμηθεά ἐλύπει, ἐξέλειτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Προμηθεά ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν. τελευταῖα δὲ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ Πενθεσίλειά τε ἀφιεῖσα τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀνέχων ἐστὶν αὐτήν· καὶ Ἑσπερίδες δύο φέρουσι τὰ μῆλα ὧν ἐπιτετράφθαι λέγονται τὴν φρουράν. Πάναινος μὲν δὴ οὗτος ἀδελφός τε ἦν Φειδίου καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Ποικίλῃ τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἔργον ἐστὶ γεγραμμένον.

At Olympia there are fences made in the form of walls and serving as shutters. The shutter opposite the doors of these fences has only been painted blue; the other parts have paintings by Panainos. One of them shows Atlas supporting heaven and earth; Herakles is standing next to him wanting to take over Atlas' burden. Furthermore, there are Theseus and Peirithoos, and Hellas and Salamis. Salamis holds in her hand the ornament made for the top of a ship's bow. Furthermore, one of Herakles' deeds, the Nemean lion, Ajax's unlawful act against Kassandra, Oinomaos' daughter Hippodameia and her mother and Prometheus still bound in fetters, while Herakles approaches him. For it is also said that Herakles killed the eagle who tormented Prometheus in Caucasus, and freed Prometheus himself from the fetters. The last painting shows Penthesileia expiring and Achilles holding her in his arms. And two Hesperids carry the apples which they had to keep. This Panainos was a brother of Pheidias and there is a painting of Marathon by him in Athens inside the Stoa Poikile.¹⁰

We can deduce that there were three sets of three stone panels surrounding the small space in front of the cult statue. The paintings adorned the outer sides, namely those seen by people who entered the naos. Herakles was the protagonist in the first, two women are shown in the last of the trios, the scenes in the middle have no single theme in common. It is a matter of discussion whether these scenes formed a coherent iconographical

⁸ Pliny, NH 35.54 (= SQ 1094; Recueil Milliet 1985, no. 167).

¹⁰ The last work is also mentioned by Pliny, NH 35.57 (= Recueil Milliet 1985, no. 164).

⁹ Paus. 5.11.4-6 (= SQ 696; Recueil Milliet 1985, no. 166).

programme. Wilhelm Völcker-Janssen published a very plausible analysis in which he shows how the ideology of the Sophists determined the tenor. In this view, men should respect the limits of their domain, as shown by the mythical examples. Zeus, the deity of the temple, did not act in these stories, but symbolised the rules human-kind had to respect. The hieratic pose of the cult statue and the distance between it and the viewer expressed this notion. When the winning athletes received their crown just in front of the statue, they were exposed to these values. The decoration was adapted to this special function of the temple and its significance was tied to this specific context.¹¹

Panainos is also mentioned because of the use of a peculiar technique he used to decorate the interior walls of a temple of Athena in Elis:¹²

Elide aedis est Minervae in qua frater Phidiae Panaenus tectorium induxit lacte et croco subactum, ut ferunt; ideo, si teratur hodie in eo saliva pollice odorem croci saporemque reddit.

At Elis there is a temple of Minerva where it is said that the brother of Pheidias, Panainos, used plaster treated with milk and saffron; therefore, even today if you rub saliva with your thumb on that stucco it gives the smell and taste of saffron.

Olympia's Temple of Zeus and the Parthenon in Athens are examples of the most expensive category of temples.¹³ They form an exception in comparison with the more numerous (and now largely lost) temples constructed with cheaper materials like wood and mud brick and decorated with plaster and painting. This is also true for most of the Etruscan and Italic temples of the Archaic and Republican times, their foundations and terracotta revetments often represent the only remains that can be studied.

If we may believe Plutarch's *Life of Themistokles*, this Athenian politician restored the Telesterion in the Attic village of Phlyai, which had been destroyed by the Persians.¹⁴ Themistokles forged a relationship with the family of the Lykomidae, who venerated Demeter. The poet Simonides, a friend of Themistokles, composed an epigram on his behalf. Plutarch tells that the *pastas* contained paintings:¹⁵

ὅτι μέντοι τοῦ Λυκομιδῶν γένους μετεῖχε, δηλὸν ἐστὶ· τὸ γὰρ Φλυῆσι τελεστήριον, ὅπερ ἦν Λυκομιδῶν κοινόν, ἐμπρησθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτὸς ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ γραφαῖς ἐκόσμησεν, ὡς Σιμωνίδης ἱστορήκεν.

But it is clear that he was member of the Lykomidae family, for he restored the mystery shrine at Phlyai, which was a common property of the Lykomidae, when it had been burnt down by the barbarians, and he embellished it with paintings, as Simonides has told us [fr. 222 B⁴].

It is reported that the paintings remained visible for a long time:¹⁶

ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων οὗτός ἐστιν ᾧ τὰ Θαργῆλια ἄγουσι, καὶ διασφάζεται Φλυῆσι ἐν τῷ δαφνηφορείῳ γραφὴ περὶ τούτων.

¹¹ For all sources cited hereafter see also *Recueil Milliet* 1985, nos. 165-167.

¹² Pliny, *NH* 36.177 (= *SQ* 1097; *Recueil Milliet* 1985, no. 168: where this type of technique is referred to). See Koch 2000, 28 on this technique.

¹³ Boersma 1970, 166-200 gives a useful list of most temples of the sixth and fifth centuries BC, also indicating the presence of possible decorations. As to the porticus of the Telesterion,

stucco decoration on the stairs and walls is known from the time of the Peisistratides (p. 185).

¹⁴ Bloedow 2005, 22, esp. note 15.

¹⁵ Plut., *Themistocles* 1.4 (= *Recueil Milliet* 1985, no. 192c); cf. the thorough commentary in the edition by Carena et al. 1983, 223-225 (with bibl.); Boersma 1970, 197.

¹⁶ Athen. 10.424f (= *Recueil Milliet* 1985, no. 192d).

That is the Apollo, for whom they hold the Thargelia and in the Daphnophoreion at Phlyai, is still extant a painting with that theme.

Since the work of art is referred to in a dialogue about drunkenness, there must exist some relationship with that vice, possibly on the basis of the Thargelia.¹⁷

We get a much clearer idea of the paintings from a third-century Christian author, Hippolytos. He reports that Plutarch had described the decorations elsewhere, but what he recounts seems to be a series of graffiti-like images. The described door of the temple could also contain a relief in wood or an incision or an inlaid niello image on bronze:¹⁸

ἔστι δὲ παστὰς ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς παστάδος ἐγγεγραπται μέχρι σήμερον ἢ [τὰ τῶν] πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων λόγων ἰδέα. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔστι τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς παστάδος ἐκείνης ἐγγεγραμμένα - περὶ ὧν καὶ Πλούταρχος ποιεῖται λόγους ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἐμπεδοκλέα δέκα βίβλοις -, ἔστι δὲ <ἐν> τοῖς πλείοσι <ἄλλοις> καὶ πρεσβύτης τις ἐγγεγραμμένος πολίος, περωτός, ἐντεταμένην ἔχων τὴν αἰσχύνην, γυναῖκα ἀποφεύγουσαν διώκων κυνοειδῆ. ἐπιγράφεται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρεσβύτου· Φάος ῥυέτης, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς †περεη† Φικόλα. ἔοικε δὲ εἶναι κατὰ τὸν <τῶν> Σηθιανῶν λόγον ὁ Φάος ῥυέτης τὸ φῶς, τὸ δὲ σκοτεινὸν ὕδωρ ἢ Φικόλα, τὸ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων διάστημα ἀρμονία πνεύματος <τοῦ> μεταξὺ τεταγμένου. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ Φάο<υ> ῥυέτου τὴν ῥύσιν ἄνωθεν τοῦ φωτός, ὡς λέγουσι, δηλοῖ κάτω· ὥστε εὐλόγως ἂν τις εἴποι τοὺς Σηθιανούς ἐγγὺς που τελεῖν παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς Μεγάλης Φλειασίων ὄργια.

There is in that spot a courtyard, in which until nowadays there are painted images of all things mentioned before. There are many paintings in this courtyard – they have also been discussed by Plutarch in his ten books against Empedocles – and amongst other [paintings] there is a bald old man with wings whose sex is erect and who pursues a fleeing, dog-like woman. Next to the old man is written Φάος ῥυέτης, next to the woman: †περεη† Φικόλα. According to the words of the Sethiani, Phaos Rhuetes is the light and Phikola the dark water, whereas the conjunction between them is the harmony of the breath that has been placed in the middle. The name Φάος ῥυέτης could indicate the stream of light from above, as they say, so that someone might rightly say that the Sethiani participate in the Orgies of the Great Goddess of Phlyai nearby, among themselves.

The term †περεη† Φικόλα is entirely unknown, it is not to be found in the LSJ and is probably a conjecture. Hippolytos explains the figures as symbols of the light and the dark water which is the harmony of the *pneuma*. Despite the ambiguity of this description the conclusion is that the decoration has a tenuous connection with the function of the building and the venerated deities, showing some facets of the cult.

In the Theseion at Athens, founded by Kimon in 476-475 as the last resting place of the remains of Theseus on the western side of the Agora (it could have been built earlier and been given a new function after the victory near Skyros), Mikon and Polygnotos painted large figurative scenes on three walls, which may be the three interior walls of the naos seen from the door in the fourth wall. The iconography seems to be the main reason why Pausanias describes them, apart from the artistic reputations of the artists.¹⁹

¹⁷ Scheibler 1994, 142-143 also mentions Paus. 6.6.11 but this text refers to Temesa.

¹⁸ It is a periphrasis by Hippolytos in his *Refutatio omnium haeresium* 5.20.6-7 (Sandbach 1967, 23, fragment 24 from *Eis Empedoklea*). The text is taken from Marcovich 1986, 194-195.

¹⁹ Paus. 1.17.2-3 (= SQ 1086; *Recueil Milliet* 1985, no. 117). Barron 1972; Thomas 1976, 39, 50-51, 78, 80; Kasper-Butz 1990, 173-174; Walker 1995, 57-58; J. Neils, *Theseus, LIMC*

VII (1994) 939-940 (the painting at p. 940 no. 227). For the area not far from the Aglauros grotto on the East Slope of the Akropolis, see Walker 1995, 21-22; Hoepfner 1999, 227; Bloedow 2005, 32-33. Hölscher 1973, 61-62, 71-72 sketches the importance of Theseus as an Athenian hero. On the artists see U. Koch-Brinkmann, *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* 2 (2004) 272-274 (Polygnotos) and W. Ehrhardt, *ibid.* 82-84 (Mikon).

γραφαι δέ εἰσι πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας Ἀθηναῖοι μαχόμενοι. πεποιήται δέ σφισιν ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ. γέγραπται δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θησέως ἱερῷ καὶ ἡ Κενταύρων καὶ [ἡ] Λαπιθῶν μάχη· Θησεὺς μὲν οὖν ἀπεκτονῶς ἐστὶν ἤδη Κένταυρον, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐξ ἴσου καθέστηκεν ἔτι ἡ μάχη. τοῦ δὲ τρίτου τῶν τοίχων ἡ γραφή μὴ πυθομένοις ἄ λέγουσιν οὐ σαφής ἐστι, τὰ μὲν που διὰ τὸν χρόνον, τὰ δὲ Μίκων οὐ τὸν πάντα ἔγραψε λόγον. Μίνως ἡνίκα Θησέα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στόλον τῶν παίδων ἤγεν ἐς Κρήτην, ἐρασθεὶς Περιβοίας, ὥς οἱ Θησεὺς μάλιστα ἡναντιοῦτο, καὶ ἄλλα ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἀπέρριψεν ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδα οὐκ ἔφη Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι, ἐπεὶ <οὐ> δύνασθαι τὴν σφραγίδα, ἣν αὐτὸς φέρων ἔτυχεν, ἀφέντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀνασῶσαί οἱ. Μίνως μὲν λέγεται ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀφείναι τὴν σφραγίδα· Θησέα δὲ σφραγιδά τε ἐκείνην ἔχοντα καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν, Ἀμφιτρίτης δῶρον, ἀνελθεῖν λέγουσιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης.

There are paintings of the Athenians fighting against the Amazons. This war had also been depicted on the shield of the Athena [Parthenos] and the base of the Olympian Zeus. In the shrine of Theseus the battle of Centaurs and Lapiths has also been painted. Theseus has already killed a Centaur and for the others the fight is still a draw. The painting on the third wall is not clear to those who ignore the legend, on the one hand by the effects of time, on the other hand because Mikon has not painted the whole story. When Minos brought Theseus and the other young people to Crete, he fell in love with Periboia and while Theseus strongly opposed him, Minos accused him in anger and said that he was not the son of Poseidon. For he would not be able to bring back the signet ring Minos was then wearing when he threw it into the sea. It is said that after these words Minos flung the ring away. They say that Theseus rose up from the sea with that ring and a golden wreath, a gift of Amphitrite.

Pausanias goes on to mention the alternative stories about Theseus and it is not clear whether he alludes to some representations. However, the paintings described clearly reflect the dedicatee and formed a real thematic cycle. The first wall showed the battle between the Athenians and the Amazons in Attica, the second one the Centauromachy, and the third wall contained a rather obscure episode, never represented in the works of art hitherto known, namely a conflict between Minos and Theseus before their arrival in Crete. The relationship between the 'occupant' of the temple, the patron and the scenes is clear: the images stress the greatness of the city and of Theseus.²⁰ Kimon was the man who had fought for peace after the Persian Wars here represented, as so often in the fifth century BC, in the metaphor of the Centauromachy and the Amazonomachy. With the third theme he (or Theseus in his place) announced Athens' thalassocracy. Only the most outstanding and most famous artists of the time were good enough to immortalize this iconographic programme. The temple became a victory monument for the great Kimon himself and for the city just like, some decades later, the Periklean Parthenon would be for Perikles in a much more spectacular way.

Polygnotos and Mikon also executed murals in the Anakeion, a temple for the Dioskouroi on the northern slope of the Akropolis of Athens. After mentioning statuary groups of the twins and their sons Pausanias briefly describes the decorations:²¹

²⁰ On Kimon and Athens see Bloedow 2005. On the Minos episode Kasper-Butz 1990, 173: the find of the ring was hailed by contemporary authors. Cf. Moreno 1987, 61-65. On this theme in iconography see Ciardiello 2005.

²¹ Paus. 1.18.1 (= SQ 1058; *Recueil Milliet* 1985, no. 118). Reinach observes in a note that Brunn and Overbeck situated the painting in the Theseion, namely on the fourth wall.

Cf. the commentary by F. Chamoux in the Budé edition of Pausanias, vol. I (Paris 1992) 184-185: the ubication would correspond with that of the Theseion. The theme of the Dioskouroi and the Argonauts had been previously depicted on a religious building, i.e. two metopes on the Treasury of Sikyon in Delphi around 560 BC.

ἐνταῦθα Πολύγνωτος μὲν ἔχοντα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔγραψε γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Λευκίππου, Μίκων δὲ τοὺς μετὰ Ἰάσονος ἐς Κόλχους πλεύσαντας· καὶ οἱ τῆς γραφῆς ἡ σπουδὴ μάλιστα ἐς Ἄκαστον καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἔχει τοὺς Ἀκάστου.

Here Polygnotos painted, as a pertaining theme, the wedding of the daughters of Leukippos; Mikon painted the men who sailed with Jason to Kolchos. The main points of interest of the painting are Akastos and the horses of Akastos.

It is interesting that Pausanias points out the connection of the heroes venerated here and the adventures they were involved in, indicating that the scenes were chosen for these reasons.

Pausanias also describes some sanctuaries for Dionysos in the vicinity of the Theatre of Dionysos. The fifth-century Temple of Dionysos on the slope of the Acropolis possessed a very large chryselephantine cult statue of the god by Alkamenes. Its interior contained programmatic paintings showing stories from the life of the god. Pausanias describes them at length:²²

γραφαὶ δὲ αὐτόθι· Διόνυσος ἐστὶ ἀνάγων Ἥφαιστον ἐς οὐρανόν· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, ὥς Ἥρα ῥίψαι γενόμενον Ἥφαιστον, ὃ δὲ οἱ μνησικακῶν πέμψαι δῶρον χρυσοῦν θρόνον ἀφανεῖς δεσμοὺς ἔχοντα, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπεῖτε ἐκαθίζετο δεδέσθαι, θεῶν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενὶ τὸν μὲν Ἥφαιστον ἐθέλγειν πείθεσθαι, Διόνυσος δὲ - μάλιστα γὰρ ἐς τοῦτον πιστὰ ἦν Ἥφαιστῳ - μεθύσας αὐτὸν ἐς οὐρανὸν ἤγαγε· ταῦτά τε δὴ γεγραμμένα εἰσι καὶ Πενθεὺς καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὧν ἐς Διόνυσον ὕβρισαν διδόντες δίκας, Ἀριάδνη δὲ καθεύδουσα καὶ Θησεὺς ἀναγόμενος καὶ Διόνυσος ἡκῶν ἐς τῆς Ἀριάδνης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν.

There are paintings showing Dionysos bringing Hephaistos to heaven. The Greeks tell the following story. Hera had thrown down Hephaistos after his birth and he, hating her, sent her as a gift a golden throne with invisible chains. When she sat down, she was bound. None of the gods was capable of persuading Hephaistos, apart from Dionysos – for Hephaistos trusted him very much. He made him drunk and brought him to heaven. In addition to these scenes there are also Pentheus and Lykourgos punished for the offences they had done to Dionysos, a sleeping Ariadne and Theseus departing [from Naxos], as well as Dionysos coming to take Ariadne away.

The first scene is well-known in figurative arts, especially in Archaic vase painting, and it might be true that Pausanias had to explain the lame god riding on a mule to his readers, as no contemporary parallels were available. In contrast, the other figures firmly belonged to the repertoire of imperial art and here seem to form a series of framed images depicting consecutive episodes from Dionysos' life. Theseus, singled out here, would have had a special place by virtue of his obvious connections with Athens.

Plutarch speaks of γράφαι which cost 90 talents and were placed in the Temple of Athena in Plataea after the Battle of Marathon:²³

οὕτω δὲ διαλλαγέστες ἐξεῖλον ὀγδοήκοντα τάλαντα τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσιν, ἀφ' ὧν τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνωκοδόμησαν ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ἔδος ἔστησαν καὶ γραφαῖς τὸν νεὼν διεκόσμησαν, αἱ μέχρι νῦν ἀκμάζουσιν διαμένουσιν, ἔστησαν δὲ τρόπαιον ἰδίᾳ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι χωρὶς δ' Ἀθηναῖοι.

²² Paus. 1.20.3 (= *Recueil Milliet* 1985, no. 392, with a datation to the period of Lykourgos, 338-326, on p. 308 note 2).

²³ Plut., *Aristides* 20.3 (SQ, no. 636; Muller-Dufeu, no. 803).

Settling the conflict in this way they took eighty talents from the [booty to give to the] inhabitants of Plataea with which they built the sanctuary of Athena, erected the cult statue and embellished the temple with paintings, which up to now remain in an excellent state, and the Spartans erected a trophy for themselves, as did the Athenians separately.

Pausanias gives some extra information, namely the names of two famous artists, the themes depicted, and the location:²⁴

γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ Πολυγνώτου μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς τοὺς μνηστήρας ἤδη κατειργασμένος, Ὀνασία δὲ Ἀδράστου καὶ Ἀργείων ἐπὶ Θῆβας ἢ προτέρα στρατεία. αὐταὶ μὲν δὴ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ προνάου τῶν τοίχων αἱ γραφαί.

The paintings in the temple show Odysseus after slaying the suitors, by Polygnotos, and the first campaign of Adrastus and the Argivians against Thebes, by Onasias. These paintings are on the walls of the entrance hall.

The mention of Polygnotos and Onasias, omitted by Plutarch, might be a local attribution made to enhance the importance of the paintings. The place where these paintings were located, namely outside the cella, could imply that they were executed as frescoes and not as wooden pinakes. The topics chosen illustrated the vengeance of the Greeks against the Persians (Odysseus against the suitors) and the collaboration of all Greeks against a common enemy, here the Kadmeioi at Thebes who had penetrated the house of the Greeks.²⁵ Athena Areia is not represented at all, but she has an implicit connection with the Theban saga by giving permission to bury the fallen soldiers in Attica.²⁶

Furthermore, there were paintings by Polygnotos at Thespiiai, restored by Pausias with a thin brush after the victory over the city by Alexander the Great in 335 BC. Their subject is unknown:²⁷

Pamphilus quoque, Apellis praeceptor, non pinxisse solum encausta, sed etiam docuisse traditur Pausian Sicyonium, primum in hoc genere nobilem. Bryetis filius hic fuit eiusdemque discipulus. pinxit et ipse penicillo parietes Thespiis, cum reficerentur quondam a Polygnoto picti.

Similarly, Pamphilos, the teacher of Apelles, would not have painted only encaustics,²⁸ but it is reported that he instructed Pausias from Sicyon, who was the first famous one in this genre. This son of Bryes was his student. He personally painted with a thin brush the walls at Thespiiai that, once painted by Polygnotos, at that time were in need of restoration.²⁹

Pliny is the only source to transmit the name of Aristokleides as the man who adorned the exterior walls of the Temple of Apollo in Delphi:³⁰

²⁴ Paus. 9.4.2 (= SQ 1059; *Recueil Milliet* 1985, no. 123; for the observation about frescoes).

²⁵ Thomas 1976, 69-70, 73, 78-79. Cf. Scheibler 1994, 143 who speaks about a paradigmatic intention of the old sagas.

²⁶ Moreno 1987, 43-45. Cf. Scheibler 1994, 143. On Onasias R. Vollkommer, *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* 2 (2004) 154-155.

²⁷ Pliny, *NH* 35.123 (= SQ 1062 and 1760; *Recueil Milliet* 1985, no. 124). For Pausias Koch 2000, 104; I. Scheibler, *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* 2 (2004) 199-200.

²⁸ On encaustics Koch 2000, 41-46.

²⁹ The subjunctive *reficerentur* seems to suggest that Pausias would not like to touch the great works of Polygnotos, but had to, as they were in decay. Otherwise no subjunctive would seem necessary.

³⁰ Pliny, *NH* 35.138 (= SQ 2151; *Recueil Milliet* 1985, no. 535). Cf. G. Bröker, *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* 1 (2001) 86. Scheibler 1994, 141 and fig. 66 (artist's impression of these decorations).

hactenus indicatis proceribus in utroque genere non silebuntur et primis proximi: Aristoclides qui pinxit aedem Apollinis Delphis.

Until now I have pointed out those who were extant in both genres of painting [pencil and encaustic painting; see previous quotation], but now those who follow them must not pass in silence: Aristokleides who painted the temple of Apollo at Delphi [etc.].

The building phase to which the works of Aristokleides belong must be the second one, namely after 330 when the shrine was rebuilt after having been destroyed by an earthquake in 373 BC. Polygnotos had decorated the previous temple.³¹

Greeks adorned the walls of the Athena temple at Syracuse with paintings, probably on wooden panels and therefore outside the scope of this study, by order of the city's tyrant Agathokles. We know about their existence thanks to a severe accusation of Verres by Cicero in his second *Verrina*:³²

pugna erat equestris Agathocli regis in tabulis picta praeclare; iis autem tabulis interiores templi parietes vestiebantur. Nihil erat ea pictura nobilius, nihil Syracusis quod magis visendum putaretur. Has tabulas M. Marcellus cum omnia victoria illa sua profana fecisset, tamen religione impeditus non attigit; iste, cum illa propter diurnam pacem fidelitatemque populi Syracusani sacra religiosaque accepisset, omnis eas tabulas abstulit, parietes quorum ornatus tot saecula manserant, tot bella effugerant, nudos ac deformatos reliquit.

There was a cavalry battle of king Agathokles excellently painted on panels; the interior walls of the temple [of Athena] were clad with those panels. There was nothing nobler than this painting, nothing that was thought to be more worth seeing at Syracuse. M. Marcellus did not touch these panels, restrained by religion, although he had profaned all things by that victory, but this man here, although he had accepted all those holy and religious things because of the long peace and fidelity of the people of Syracuse, took off all those panels which had formed the adornment of the walls for so many centuries and had escaped so many wars, leaving the walls nude and deformed.

Agathokles had assumed power after the death of Alexander the Great in the East and used these representations to support his claim on Sicily. These works of art, therefore, were important for him personally and for the prestige of his city. The decorations were located in the cella. Apparently Verres could take the paintings off easily and carry them to Rome as illegal booty. It is unknown where they were exhibited thereafter, but the accusation implies that Verres had not dedicated them in one of Rome's temples or public buildings. As a matter of fact, it was not the first time that a commander had stolen precious paintings from a sacred space.

Two sources to be explored within the framework of this study are inscriptions and papyri. Inscriptions mention the presence of paintings in two temples in Delos. An inventory of temples and their possessions, dated to 156/155 BC, reveals that the Aphrodision, the Temple of Aphrodite, contained nine painted ceiling panels

³¹ Pliny, *NH* 35.59: *hic Delphis aedem pinxit* (he painted the temple in Delphi). As to Delphi, I leave out the decorations in the Lesche of the Knidians, also by Polygnotos (Paus. 10.25-31; see Scheibler 1994, 52-54, 143-144; Hellmann 2002, 254, compared with painted stoai in Athens, Sikyon

and Sparta).

³² Cic., *Ver.* 2.4.122. Cf. Scheibler 1994, 141; Holliday 2002, 78. On Marcellus and Syracuse Östenberg 2009, 80-81, 208-211; Miles 2008, 61-68, 115-116. Miles 2008 on the *Verrinae*.

in the prostoon: πίνακας ὀροφικοὺς ἐννέα. Their presence in a type of entrance room implies that these were wooden panels that were set into shallow niches or frames.³³

A dedicatory inscription speaks of the redecoration of the Serapeion C by Theophilos:³⁴

Θεόφιλος Θεοφίλου
Ἀντιοχεὺς μελανηφόρος τὴν κονίασιν
τοῦ παστοφορίου καὶ
τὴν γραφὴν τῶν
τε τοίχων καὶ τῆς
ὀροφῆς καὶ τὴν ἐ[γ-]
καυσιν τῶν θυρῶν
καὶ τὸν προμύχθους
τούς ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις
καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς σανίδας
ἀνέθηκεν Σαράπιδι, Ἴσιδι,
Ἀνούβιδι, Ἄρποχράτει,
ἐπὶ Ἰερέως Σελεύκου
τοῦ Ἀνδρονίκου
Ῥαμνουσίου.

Theophilos, son of Theophilos, from Antioch, melanophoros, has dedicated to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis and Harpokrates the whitewash of the pastophorion and the painting on the walls and the ceiling and the encaustic decoration of the doors and the bearing beams in the walls and the wooden planks above them, during the priesthood of Seleukos, son of Andronikos, from Rhamnous.

As to dating, the year 112/111 can be deduced from the last three lines. The pastophorion must be an assembly room for the cult assistants within the sanctuary. Apparently the interior walls were a simple white while the wooden elements were more colourful. The dress of the *melanophoros* – literally: wearing black – indicates a function and the membership of a specific cultic association.³⁵

ROMAN TEMPLES

Most descriptions of Roman mural decorations in ancient sources are concerned with mid-Republican temples, either constructed and painted or re-decorated after a triumph. These paintings belong to what was called *pictura triumphalis*, the genre we have just encountered in Syracuse. The literary testimonies are mostly short and the single decorations are almost never recorded in more than one source. Fabius Pictor is the great exception to this rule, as we will see. In the following discussion they are presented in a chronological order.³⁶

³³ Durrbach and Roussel 1935, no. 1417, side A, column 2, lines 17-18 at p. 59 as element in an inventory list; quoted in Alabe 2002, 258. See extensively Prêtre 2002, 199-238. There is confusion about this 'Aphrodision', as there were two of them (Prêtre 2002, 120, 232). Cf. Hellmann 2002, 255.

³⁴ Roussel and Launey 1937, 223-224 nos. 2085-2086. No. 2085 was found in the Serapeion itself in 1881, 2086 was brought to Italy in the fifteenth century and is now in the

Museo Maffiano at Verona (= Ritti 1981, 59-60 no. 24). The texts are identical. Partly quoted in Alabe 2002, 258. As to Serapeion C, this must be the largest of the three Serapeia known at Delos, see Prêtre 2002, 233.

³⁵ See Ritti 1981, no 46.

³⁶ Cf. Hölscher 1978, 344-346; Hölscher 1980, 352-355; Holliday 2002; Östenberg 2009, 248-261; S. Tortorella in Bragantini 2010, 113-125.

In the section about Roman painting Pliny starts with the introduction of wall painting in Italic temples outside Rome. One might think of the famous terracotta revetments, often painted in many colours:³⁷

iam enim absoluta erat pictura etiam in Italia. Exstant certe hodieque antiquiores urbe picturae Ardeae in aedibus sacris, quibus equidem nullas aequae miror, tam longo aeuo durantes in orbitate tecti ueluti recentes. Similiter Lanuvi, ubi Atalante et Helena comminus pictae sunt nudaе ab eodem artifice, utraque excellentissima forma, sed altera ut virgo, ne ruinis quidem templi concussae. Gaius princeps tollere eas conatus est libidine accensus si tectorii natura permississet. Durant et Caere antiquiores et ipsae fatebiturque quisquis eas diligenter aestimaerit nullam artium celerius consummatam cum Iliacis temporibus non fuisse eam appareat.

Painting had already reached perfection even in Italy. Today there are surely paintings older than [the existence of] Rome at Ardea in holy shrines that I admire even more than others as they have been preserved for such a long time, as if they were painted recently, although they lack the protection of a roof. The same is true for Lanuvium where Atalante and Helen have been painted by the same artist, side-by-side, nude and both of beautiful shape, the former being shown as a virgin. They were even not damaged by the collapse of the temple. The emperor Gaius tried to cut them out, burning with desire for them, if only the nature of plaster had allowed it. At Caere there are even older paintings and a person who carefully examines them will confess that none of the arts was brought to perfection more quickly, since it becomes clear that this art had not existed in the times of Troy.

The negative story about Gaius Caligula is the reason Pliny mentions the nude ladies and one might wonder how these heroines were inserted in the decorative system. Probably they were depicted as single, standing figures in independent panels next to each other, displaying their female charms. They might have had some attributes that made them recognisable. It is less plausible to presume that they formed part of figural scenes in which the women play the main rôle, namely the Rape of Helen and the Hunt of the Caledonian Boar. A nude Atalante must refer to the athlete she is in some stories, namely in her wrestling contest with Peleus or the race against Hippomenes. Helen's nudity would of course display her quality as the most beautiful woman on earth.³⁸

In a later chapter in the same book Pliny records the painter of the murals in the temple of Juno in Ardea, Plautius Marcus, who is praised in a short epigram on his work:³⁹

deceat non sileri et Ardeatis templi pictorem, praesertim ciuitate donatum ibi et carmine quod est in ipsa pictura his uersibus:
Dignis dignu' loco picturis condecorauit
reginae Iunonis supremi coniugis templum
Plautius Marcus; cluet Asia lata esse oriundus,
quem nunc et post semper ob artem hanc Ardea laudat.
Eaque sunt scripta antiquis litteris Latinis.

³⁷ Pliny, *NH* 35.17.

³⁸ For nude or scarcely dressed Atalantes in predominately Greek vase painting showing her involved in similar activities see: J. Boardman, *Atalante*, *LIMC* II (1984) 945-947 nos. 60-89. This particular painting referred to in the text is listed on p. 948, no. 93, without explanation. In the commentary (p. 949) Boardman suggests that Atalante participated

in a beauty contest, as we know from Etruscan images. In this context, the explanation in no. 93, that our scene might be Etruscan, seems more suitable, but I do not think that it is the only explanation. I. Krauskopf, Elina, *LIMC* IV (1988) no. 41 also mentions this painting as an Etruscan work of art.

³⁹ Pliny, *NH* 35.115-116 (= *SQ* 2378).

We must not forget the painter of the temple in Ardea, especially because he obtained citizenship there and thanks to a poem that is in the picture itself and runs as follows:

He decorated a worthy place with worthy paintings,
The temple of Queen Juno, wife of the highest spouse:
Plautius Marcus, purportedly born in wide Asia
Whom Ardea now and later always does praise for this art.

These lines are written in ancient Latin characters.

As to chronology Pliny gives no indications about the age of the temples mentioned.⁴⁰ They must be more or less from the same period as the oldest example in Rome, the Temple of Ceres, built on the northern slope of the Aventine next to the Circus Maximus after a *votum* by Aulus Postumius Albinus just before the Battle of Lake Regillus (499 or 496 BC). It is reported by Pliny that Greek artists from Magna Graecia made both the terracotta relief decorations and paintings:⁴¹

plastae laudatissimi fuere Damophilus et Gorgasus, iidem pictores, qui Cereris aedem Romae ad circum maximum utroque genere artis suae excoluerant, uersibus inscriptis Graece, quibus significarent ab dextra opera Damophili esse, ab laeua Gorgasi. Ante hanc aedem Tuscanica omnia in aedibus fuisse auctor est Varro, et ex hac, cum reficeretur, crustas parietum excisas tabuliis marginatis inclusas esse, item signa ex fastigiis dispersa.

Damophilos and Gorgasos were highly praised terracotta makers who were also painters. They adorned the Temple of Ceres in Rome next to the Circus Maximus with both forms of their art, with verses in Greek written next to them in which they pointed out that the work on the right was Damophilos', that on the left by Gorgasos.⁴² Varro informs us that before this shrine everything in temples was Tuscan and it is reported that, when it was refurbished, wall pieces were cut out from here and framed, whereas the statues on the façade were lost.

The text does not give details of the decorations, but implies that the artists could have painted polychrome decorations on all terracotta elements, including the revetment plaques. Apparently, wall decorations were later cut out to be preserved in frames like precious works of art. The three-dimensional figures in the pediment and on the roof must have been lost. In the eyes of Vitruvius the building was old-fashioned, but apparently it was not an Italic temple, as we can deduce from Pliny's remarks.⁴³ The suggestion of the encyclopaedist about the Tuscan character of its predecessors might mean that panels were a new element.

There are four testimonies on the paintings in the cella of the Temple of Salus on the Quirinal hill dating to 304 BC. The reason is that the artist was none other but the Roman *eques* Fabius Pictor, who also signed them. Cicero could have personally seen the paintings he briefly refers to in his *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.2.4:

⁴⁰ Cf. Isager 1991, 118-119.

⁴¹ Pliny, *NH* 35.154 (= *SQ* 616). On the temple see F. Coarelli, *LTUR* I (1993) 260-261. Here a provenance from Tarentum or (more probably) Syracuse is suggested. The written texts are like those on the Treasury of Siphnos or Sikyon in Delphi (so Coarelli). On the paintings Roncalli 1965, 55; Koch 2000, 14.

⁴² Koch 2000, 14 discusses the division of labour. See the epi-

gram of Simonides cited in note 78.

⁴³ Vitruvius, *De arch.* 3.3.5 mentions the terracotta statues. In sum, the decoration might have looked like that in the Temple of Mater Matuta in the S. Omobono area (see G. Pisani Sartorio, *LTUR* II (1995) 281-285, esp. 282). Bergmann 1995, 100 sees the framed paintings as art objects to circulate and to be exposed in a *pinacotheca*. Koch 2000, 71-72 discusses the text at length.

an censemus si Fabio nobilissimo homini laudi datum esset quod pingeret non multos etiam apud nos futuros Polyclitos et Parrhasios fuisse? Honos alit artes omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloria iacentque ea semper quae apud quosque improbantur.

Or, if the very famous Fabius received praise for the fact that he painted, do we have to think that not many Polykleitoi and Parrhasioi were to exist even among us? Honour feeds the arts and inspires all to work hard for glory, and things that are rejected by everyone always remain aside.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus might also have known the monument since he came to Rome in 30 BC, where he lived for some twenty years. The Greek scholar writes:⁴⁴

αἱ ἐντοίχιοι γραφαὶ ταῖς τε γραμμαῖς πάννυ ἀκριβεῖς ἦσαν· καὶ τοῖς μίγμασιν ἡδεῖται, παντὸς ἀπηλλαγμένον ἔχουσαι τοῦ καλουμένου ῥώπου τὸ ἀνθηρόν.

The wall paintings were very clear thanks to the lines. They were also agreeable, their freshness being entirely free of the so-called petty wares [rhapos].

Valerius Maximus discusses the reason for the presence of the artist's signature:⁴⁵

illa uero etiam a claris uiris interdum ex humillimis rebus petita est: nam quid sibi uoluit C. Fabius nobilissimus ciuis, qui, cum in aede Salutis, quam C. Iunius Bubulcus dedicauerat, parietes pinxisset, nomen his suum inscripsit? id enim demum ornamentum familiae consulatibus et sacerdotiis et triumphis celeberrimae deerat. ceterum sordido studio deditum ingenium qualemcumque illum laborem suum silentio oblitterari noluit, uidelicet Phidiae secutus exemplum, qui clypeo Mineruae effigiem suam inclusit, qua conuulsa tota operis conligatio solueretur.

But this was even requested by famous men for very modest reasons: for, what did the noblest citizen C. Fabius aim at by inserting his name when he painted the walls of the temple of Salus that had been dedicated by C. Iunius Bubulcus? Exactly this feature failed in the lustre of the family, very well known for its consulates, sacral offices and triumphs. Moreover, his genius, dedicated to a sordid job, did not want this work of his, whatever its worth, to be subject to oblivion; he followed in a way Pheidias, who had inserted his portrait on the shield of Minerva [Athena Parthenos] but if it were destroyed, the whole structure of the work would disintegrate.

Pliny writes the following in his chapter on early paintings in Rome:⁴⁶

apud Romanos quoque honos mature huic arti contigit siquidem cognomina ex ea Pictorum traxerunt Fabii clarissimae gentis, princepsque eius cognominis ipse aedem Salutis pinxit anno urbis conditae CCCCL, quae pictura durauit ad nostram memoriam aede ea Claudii principatu exusta.

The Romans also fully bestowed honour to this art, because the Fabii, a very famous family, took their surname 'Pictor' from it and the first of them with that surname painted the Temple of Salus in the year 450 from the

⁴⁴ Dion.Hal., *ant.* 16.3.2 (excerpt; the place is not mentioned; SQ no. 2374). The word ῥῶπος, translated in LSJ as 'petty', has been frequently discussed: see Rouveret 1989, 272-278, who suggests a mix of lurid and/or ugly colours. Cf. Koch 2000, 95-98 and 186 (translates the word with 'banal').

About the temple: Ziolkowski 1992, 144-148; F. Coarelli, *LTUR* IV (1999) 229-230; Holliday 2002, 31. On Greek texts written next to the figures see also Thomas 1995.

⁴⁵ Val. Max. 8.14.6 (= SQ 2373).

⁴⁶ Pliny, *NH* 35.19 (= SQ 2372).

foundation of the city [= 304 BC]; this painting came down to our memory, although the temple burnt down under the principate of Claudius.

Dionysius did not describe what was represented, but Filippo Coarelli's proposal that the subjects were the military expeditions of the patron Gaius Iunius Bubulcus Brutus during the Third Samnite War is highly plausible.⁴⁷ Although the building was destroyed by fire only 29 years later (275 BC), the decorated walls must have survived, since Pliny records the time of Claudius as its definite last moment of existence. Clearly, the mention in the sources relies on the fact that the maker was from such a noble family; for Cicero and Valerius Maximus, Fabius' painting activity even detracts from the prestige of the *gens*.⁴⁸ The representations seemingly were no longer of interest to the early Imperial viewer. Nadia Koch observes that the epithet ἡδῆαι, used by Dionysius, was a characteristic praised in Greek painting of that period. Its Latin counterpart would be Pliny's *iucundus*.⁴⁹ The murals might have looked like contemporary Etruscan paintings in which contour lines were a frequent feature.⁵⁰ We can conclude that the high status of the artist has been the main – or for many authors the only – reason to write about Fabius Pictor. We learn almost nothing about the temple's decorations.

In a single sentence Festus mentions two examples of triumphal paintings in temples on the Aventine:⁵¹

picta quae nunc toga dicitur, purpurea ante uocitata est, eaque erat sine pictura. Eius rei argumentum est ... pictum in aede Vertumni et Consi, quarum in altera M. Fulvius Flaccus, in altera T. Papirius Cursor triumphantes ita picti sunt. Tunica autem palmata a latitudine clauorum dicebatur, quae nunc a genere picturae appellatur.

The toga that is now called 'picta' was formerly named 'the purple one' and it had no painting. This topic has been ... represented in the temples of Vertumnus and Consus, where M. Fulvius Flaccus in the former, and T. Papirius Cursor in the latter, are depicted in that way during their triumphs. But the tunica palmata got its name from the breadth of its clavi and now is called after that type of painting.

Titus Papirius Cursor founded the Temple for Consus in 272 BC after his victories over Samnites and Tarentines. Marcus Fulvius Flaccus had given the commission to erect a temple for Vertumnus in 264 and had ordered a depiction of a battle against the Volsinians.⁵² So far as one can judge, both had chosen representations of their triumphs rather than the battles themselves and we might imagine them as forerunners of Titus' *triumphus* relief on the Arch of Titus or a primitive sort of Mantegna's 'Triumph of Caesar'. However, if Papirius and Fulvius had illustrated the battles, we must recall an interesting fragment of a mural decoration from about 300 BC at Cumae and extensively studied by Nazarena Valenza Mele.⁵³ The decoration covers an almost square block of tuff and shows parts of two registers of images, one over the other like the famous Fabius painting in Rome to

⁴⁷ F. Coarelli, *LTUR* IV (1999) 229-230.

⁴⁸ *DNP* IV (1998) 373 s.v. Fabius I 31 suggests that he commissioned the decorations and therefore got the cognomen Pictor, but the sources, especially Valerius Maximus and Pliny, stress the aspect of the art of painting as a peculiarity worth mentioning. Cf. Isager 1991, 118. On Fabius Pictor see also R. Vollkommer, *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* 1 (2001) 253.

⁴⁹ Koch 2000, 186 (with examples).

⁵⁰ A cautious suggestion by Dulière 1979, I, 51, where the

social ambiente of Fabius is discussed.

⁵¹ Lindsay 1913, 228, lines 18-25, Fragment P. 209. The three dots after *est* indicate a lacuna of one line (see p. 229, apparatus criticus). Cf. Ziolkowski 1992, 24-25; M. Andreussi, *LTUR* I (1993) 321-322. On Papirius s. F. Münzer, *RE* XVIII.3 (1949) 1051-1056.

⁵² Cf. J. Aronen, *LTUR* V (1999) 213-214; Holliday 2002, 30-31. Not in Ziolkowski 1992.

⁵³ Valenza Mele 1996, 325-360.

which this fragment has rightly been compared. In the lower field, a nocturnal ritual unfolds, above a row of soldiers is marching, bearing only one greave each. Valenza Mele connected the scene with the foundation of the *legio linteata* in 338 BC, as described by Livy, composed of Campanians. The homonymous father of Papirius defeated these enemies of Rome in 309.⁵⁴ Similar troops would have existed around 300 at Cumae and they would have helped the Romans. The painted block would have formed part of a tomb chamber and has been collected without a precise provenance.⁵⁵ Rita Benassai raised doubt as to the idea of two registers and argued that the rendering contained a certain degree of perspective depth, with two superimposed plans. She accepted the interpretation of a *legio linteata* as the theme of the painting and also saw it as a fragment of a funerary painting (chamber or sarcophagus) made shortly after 300 BC.⁵⁶

Italy was painted on a wall in the Temple of Tellus in the Carinae in Rome as is told by Varro:⁵⁷

Sementiuis feriis in aedem Telluris ueneram rogatus ab aeditumo, ut dicere didicimus a patribus nostris, ut corrigimur a recentibus urbanis, ab aedituo. Offendi ibi C. Fundianum, socerum meum, et C. Agrium equitem, R. Socraticum et P. Agrasium publicanum spectantes in pariete pictam Italiam. Quid vos hic? Inquam. Num feriae sementiuae otiosos huc adduxerunt, ut patres et auos solebant nostros?

During the sowing festival [in January] I had come to the temple of Tellus on request of the aeditumus [sacristan], as we have learned to say from our fathers, by the aedituus as modern urban people correct us. There I met C. Fundianus, my brother-in-law, and the knight C. Agrius, R. Socraticus and the contractor P. Agrasius who all stood looking at Italy painted on the wall. "What are you doing here?" I said. "Did the sowing festival bring people free from work here, as it used to do with our father and grandfathers?"

We do not need to read the ensuing conversation between these gentlemen. Varro, the protagonist, discusses the bounties provided by the various parts of Italy, especially in the sphere of agriculture, with a relative and friends. In the quoted sentence, it is not explicitly stated that the mural represents a map, but this is the generally accepted interpretation of Varro's remark. As to the location of the conversation, we must assume the pronaos of the temple, as the friends are waiting for Varro and must be visible when he approaches. Neither the date nor the reason for the inclusion of the painting are known, but we have to take into account Coarelli's older proposal, which connects the mural with a *votum* by Publius Sempronius Sophus in the year 268 BC.⁵⁸ If so, the dedication to the goddess of Earth should refer to an earthquake at the time of the battle against the Picenians. Jean-Pierre Guilhembet, on the other hand, agrees with older suggestions that the painting was quite new when Varro and his friend gathered in the temple. His arguments might be valid, but as he states in his own words the

⁵⁴ Livy 9.40: battle of 309; 10.38-42: battle of 293, with an extensive description of these troops (10.38) and the battle (10.39-42). The existence of such troops has been frequently disclaimed as fantasy but is substantiated by this painting, as Valenza Mele makes clear.

⁵⁵ On the theme Valenza Mele 1996, 354-355; Moormann 2001; Holliday 2002. The block is much thicker than the slabs of southern Italic tombs Valenza Mele refers to as comparisons and is not broken at the sides. It may thus have been part of a wall of blocks. If it had been a tomb, the block

would have formed part of a tomb chamber's wall and not of a painted sarcophagus.

⁵⁶ Benassai 2001, 91, 215-218; Caputo 2000.

⁵⁷ Varro, *De re rustica* 1.2.1. Florus, *Epitome* 1.14 gives the reason for the erection of the building: *omnis mox Italia pacem habuit—quid enim post Tarenton auferent?—nisi quod ultro persequi socios hostium placuit. Domiti ergo Picentes et caput gentis Asculum Sempronio duce, qui tremante inter proelium campo Tellurem deam promissa aede placavit.*

⁵⁸ F. Coarelli, *LTUR* V (1999) 24-25.

thesis cannot be proven.⁵⁹

Guilhembet also tackles the question of where the map was to be seen: he excludes the portico, as proposed by Jacques Heurgon in the Budé translation of Varro and suggests the temple itself. That might be true, but the French scholar does not specify whether it was inside or outside. Because our friends are talking next to it, I think that the façade of the building is the most plausible suggestion; the interior of temples was often inaccessible and, for practical reasons, people who make an appointment in some building needed to remain visible from a certain distance for any latecomers. Coming up the stairs, therefore, the last man of the group might find his friends looking at the decoration of the exterior cella wall under the portico of the pronaos.

A panel painting with a map of Sardinia was installed in the temple of Mater Matuta in 174 by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus:⁶⁰

*eodem anno tabula in aede matris Matutae cum indice huc posita est. "Ti. Sempronii Gracchi consulis imperio auspicioque legio excercitusque populi Romani Sardiniam subegit. In ea prouincia hostium caesa aut capta supra octaginta milia. Re publica felicissime gesta atque liberalibus **uctigalibus restitutis excercitum saluum atque incolumem plenissimum praeda domum reportauit, iterum triumphans in urbem Romam rediit. Cuius rei ergo hanc tabulam donum Iovi dedit." Sardiniae insulae forma erat, atque in ea simulacra pugnarum picta.*

In the same year a panel was placed in the Temple of Mater Matuta with the following explanation: "The legionary troops of the Roman people subjected Sardinia under the imperium and command of consul Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. More than eighty thousand people were killed or taken prisoner in that province. As the state was treated very successfully and the discharged debts resolved, he brought the army safe and unharmed home, very rich in booty, and returned for the second time in triumph back to the city of Rome. For that reason he has given this panel as a gift to Jupiter." It was a depiction of the island Sardinia and on it images of battles were painted.

Being a *tabula*, the painting was probably applied on a wooden panel and is technically outside the scope of this study. However, it is an important parallel to the *Italia picta* mural. It might have been similar to Sempronius' *Italia*⁶¹ and could have looked like the famous late antique mosaic map at Madaba (Jordan) where vignettes symbolise the cities and villages. Another, not yet very well studied contemporary comparison is an illustration of Spain on the illustrated papyrus of Artemidoros in Turin. This map is part of a description of the Iberian Peninsula by Artemidos (2nd–1st century BC). A more fantastic variation, i.e. with the Land of the Nile, is found on the late second century BC Barberini mosaic floor in Palestrina.⁶² The reason for placing a painting dedicated

⁵⁹ Italia as a map: Hölscher 1978; Hölscher 1980, 352 n. 5; Dilke 1989, 39; Guilhembet 2005. The Italia map is lacking from LIMC V (1990) s.v. Italia. See also Fröhlich 2000, 365: thanks to the fact that Silius (see pp. 35-39) lists many topographical names, even at Litternum a map could be intended. See his note 25 for other examples. Cf. Grüner 2004, 141. On the temple Ziolkowski 1992, 155-162. For P. Sempronius Sophus see F. Münzer, RE 2, A-2 (1923) 1438-1439 with sources. Briefly mentioned by Holliday 2002, 214, who sees T. Sempronius Gracchus as founder and follows Frontinus,

Stratagemata 1.12.3, where an earthquake during the battle is recorded.

⁶⁰ Livy 41.28.8-10.

⁶¹ Nicolet 1988, 110 discusses both maps in connection with other instances and dates the Italia around 59 BC. Dilke 1989, 148 sees the pictures as an example of "religious and propaganda impact". Meyboom 1995, 186-190 refers to the map of Sardinia in his section about "Chorography and Topography as Pictorial Genres". Östenberg 2009, 193 translates *tabula* as 'tablet' (on terminology see also his p. 195).

to Jupiter in the Mater Matuta temple is explained by Ida Östenberg in a simple, but lucid way: it may be a copy of the *tabula* usually hung in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and, we may add, the Temple of Mater Matuta got one because of his personal connections with this goddess.⁶³

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus celebrated his victory over the Carthaginians in 214 BC near Beneventum with the dedication of new paintings in the Temple of Libertas on the Aventine. This temple had been built by his father, as we know from Livy, and was considered a valuable family monument.⁶⁴ Livy gives a succinct description of the events because they do not represent the usual conclusion of a battle. There was a banquet given by the victorious general for his troops. The audacious soldiers were allowed to eat and drink while seated, whereas the less heroic men had to stand. Their dishonour, therefore, was much more accentuated than if Sempronius Gracchus had punished the cowards in the usual way. The historian concludes:

digna res uisa ut simulacrum celebrati eius diei Gracchus, postquam Romam rediit, pingi iuberet in aede Libertatis quam pater eius in Auentino ex multatitia pecunia faciendam curauit dedicauitque.

It has seemed a good thing that, when Gracchus had come back to Rome, he ordered an image to be painted of that day as it had been celebrated in the Temple of Libertas, which had been voted by his father and dedicated to be built on the Aventine with money that had been exacted as a fine.

The Temple of Aesculapius on Tiber Island was also adorned with paintings commemorating episodes from the Second Punic War. Varro records *equites*, with the term *ferentarii* written next to them, in a comment on a passage from Plautus' *Persa*.⁶⁵

ferentarium a ferendo id <quod non> est inane ac sine fructu; aut quod ferentarii equites hi dicti qui ea modo habebant arma quae ferrentur, ut iaculum. Huiusmodi equites pictos uidi in Aesculapii aede uetere et ferentarios ascriptos.

Ferentarium either comes from carrying [ferre], which is not without sense and use; or because those cavalymen who were called ferentarii had no other weapons than those to be launched [ferrentur] like a javelin. I saw this kind of cavalymen painted in the old Temple of Aesculapius, labelled ferentarii.

Apparently, these riders did not have anything but light thrusting or throwing weapons.⁶⁶ The depictions could have referred to a specific victory and therefore belong to the genre of the *pictura triumphalis*. Did these images, being a set of scenes depicting the Punic enemies (albeit from the Second Punic War) inspire Silius when he

⁶² Madaba: Gallazzi and Settis 2006, 206-207 (with bibl.); Pal-estrina: Meyboom 1995; Artemidoros papyrus: Gallazzi and Settis 2006, 146-147. It endorses Artemidoros, *Geographia* 2, fragment 21 Stiehle (quoted in Italian translation on p. 159). See on this and other maps the contributions by Maria Ida Patrizia Gulletta in Gallazzi and Settis 2006. On the papyrus in general Gallazzi and Kramer 1998, 199-201, fig. 2; Gallazzi and Settis 2006; Gallazzi, Kramer and Settis 2008 (*editio princeps*). On this edition and the pictorial aspects of the papyrus see my discussion in *BABESCH* 85 (2010) 193-199. Grüner 2004, 140 mentions it as a reference to maps

painted on private interior decorations.

⁶³ Östenberg 2009, 196, 198, with bibliography.

⁶⁴ Livy 24.16.19. Cf. Holliday 2002, 31-32. 214. About the temple that probably must be connected with that for Jupiter Libertas see M. Andreussi, *LTUR* III (1996) 144. Koortbo-jian 2002 discusses the painting in greater detail.

⁶⁵ Varro, ll. 7.57. D. Degrassi (*LTUR* I (1993) 21-22) supposes that the paintings had already vanished when Varro wrote his text. However, there are no clear arguments for this suggestion.

⁶⁶ Cf. *TLL* and *OLD* s.v.

wrote about the temple in Liternum (see *infra*)?

Rather known as an author, the south-Italian Pacuvius, nephew of Ennius, was invited to decorate a temple in Rome.⁶⁷

proxime celebrata est in foro boario aede Herculis Pacuui poetae pictura. Enni sorore genitus hic fuit clarioremque artem eam Romae fecit gloria scaenae.

Next [after Fabius Pictor, see supra] in celebrity is a painting in the Temple of Hercules on the Forum Boarium by the poet Pacuvius. He was a son of Ennius' sister and made that art more famous in Rome thanks to the glory of his drama.

As to the execution of these paintings there is some confusion. Peter Holliday connects the event to the great general Lucius Aemilius Paullus. After his victories in Greece and on the occasion of his triumph in 167, Aemilius Paullus restored the Temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium. He would have chosen Pacuvius, who already had some fame as a poet, on account of his family connections. Moreover, the Greek artist Metrodoros was commissioned to make a series of paintings illustrating Aemilius' victories, maybe those carried around in the pomp of the triumph.⁶⁸ However, Coarelli suggests that Scipio Aemilianus founded the building in 142 in his capacity as a censor, probably financing the project with the *manubiae* of the final victory over Carthage. It is not the round temple still standing (see *infra*), but the one excavated in the 15th century.⁶⁹ Pacuvius' paintings surely cannot have been decorative schemes in the guise of the First Style, but more likely, representations of the Third Punic War. Coarelli has tried to reconstruct Pacuvius' style and iconography, but the lack of data prevents us from going that far. Nevertheless, a similar attempt has been undertaken by Holliday, when he suggests a Roman tradition, but "cast in the idiom of the pervasive influences of Hellenism."⁷⁰ On the other hand, Pacuvius could also have worked in the tradition of his fatherland, Apulia, and followed the colourful decorations known from that area.⁷¹

Pliny comments, starting from this introduction of Pacuvius, that in the following period until the end of the first century BC the profession of painter was no longer considered appropriate for men of high social rank:⁷²

⁶⁷ Pliny, *NH* 35.19 (= *SQ* 2375).

⁶⁸ Pliny, *NH* 35.135 on Metrodoros: *ubi [at Athens] eodem tempore [168 BC] erat Metrodoros, pictor idemque philosophus, in utraque scientia magnae auctoritatis. Itaque cum L. Paulus devicto Perseo petisset ab Atheniensibus, ut ii sibi quam probatissimum philosophum mitterent ad erudiendos liberos, item pictorem ad triumphum excolendum Athenienses Metrodorum elegerunt, professi eundem in utroque desiderio praestantissimum, quod ita Paulus quoque iudicavit* (There was at the same time Metrodoros, painter and philosopher alike and a great authority in both sciences. So, when L. Paulus, after his victory over Perseus, asked the Athenians to send him the most outstanding philosopher to educate his children and similarly a painter to embellish his triumph, the Athenians chose Metrodoros, arguing that he was the greatest to fulfil both wishes, which Paulus was to judge as well). Cf. Holliday 2002, 32-33, who proposes

Metrodoros as the artist who designed the friezes of the general's victory monument in Delphi.

⁶⁹ Coarelli 1988, 84-92, 164-180. On the paintings *ibid.* 86, 173-178. Aemilius Paullus is mentioned as an implausible building candidate at pp. 85, 167 and 171. Brief mention, without all these complications, by F. Coarelli, *LTUR* III (1996) 15 and in Ziolkowski 1992, 49 note 5.

⁷⁰ Holliday 2002, 32.

⁷¹ The last suggestion was given to me by Douwe G. Yntema who wrote a seminal essay on the contacts between elite people from Apulia and the Romans (Yntema 2006). On paintings from that region see Tiné Bertocchi 1964; Mazzei 2002 (with further references). See on Pacuvius as an artist R. Gottschalk, *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* 2 (2004) 169.

⁷² Pliny, *NH* 35.20 (= *SQ* 2375). Cf. Isager 1991, 118.

postea non est spectata honestis manibus, nisi forte quis Turpilius equitem Romanum e Venetia nostra aetate uelit referre, pulchris eius operibus hodieque Veronae extantibus.

Later [painting] was not a respectable activity for the hands of noblemen unless one wants to refer to the now-living Roman knight Turpilius from [the region of] Venetia, whose beautiful paintings exist nowadays in Verona.

Some other *equites* mentioned by Pliny practiced the technique of panel painting and can be omitted in this context.

A pair of temples was inaugurated in 187 BC by Marcus Aemilius Lepidus on the Campus Martius. They were dedicated to Diana and Juno Regina. The latter temple was later combined with a shrine for Jupiter Stator in the Porticus Metelli, which was changed into the Porticus of Octavia under Augustus. At some point during the inauguration of the 'new' pair of temples the celebrating party was bewildered by the striking similarity of the buildings and thanks to their identical architecture, the visitors confused the two dedications. Pliny, however, observes that the decoration of the façade could have been of great help in telling them apart:⁷³

in Iouis aede ex iis pictura cultusque reliquus omnis femineis argumentis constat; erat enim facta Iunoni, sed cum inferrentur signa, permutasse geruli traduntur, et id religione custoditum, uelut ipsis diis sedem ita partitis. Ergo Iunonis aede cultus est qui Iouis esse debuit.

In one of the two temples, that of Jupiter, the painting and the rest of the cult are all defined by female elements, as it was made for Juno, but when the cult statues were brought in they say that the carriers interchanged them, and this was maintained by religion as if the gods had personally divided the seat in that way. Therefore, Juno's cult is in the temple that ought to be that of Jupiter.

Alessandro Viscogliosi suggests that this restoration or erection must date to quasi-mythical times, certainly not to the Augustan era, which is better known for the restoration of the complex on the southern edge of the Campus Martius.⁷⁴ Pliny's remark sounds rather logical, but it is exceptional, as it is the only statement in which the decoration is immediately linked to the god to whom the building is dedicated. Unfortunately, this does not help us to know which scenes or figures were represented and where. The sentence suggests that the attribution to Juno was possible at first glance on the basis of the iconography, which would imply the façade and/or other outer walls, while Pliny also points to cult objects that would have been preserved in the interior.

Unfortunately, Pliny is rather laconic in his record about the paintings in the Temple for Honos and Virtus, which was constructed immediately outside the Porta Capena at the foot of the Caelius:⁷⁵

post eum fuere in auctoritate Cornelius Pinus et Attius Priscus, qui Honoris Virtutis aedes Imperatori Vespasiano Augusto restituenti pinxerunt, Priscus antiquis similior.

After him [Famulus] in repute were Cornelius Pinus and Attius Priscus, who painted the Temples of Honos and Virtus on behalf of the emperor, Vespasianus Augustus, who restored them; Priscus worked more like the old artists.

⁷³ Pliny, *NH* 36.43. The story is told in a section on precious marble objects in these temples and therefore escapes the attention of those studying temple decorations. On the temples A. Viscogliosi, *LTUR* II (1995) 14; III (1996) 126-128 and 157-159.

⁷⁴ A. Viscogliosi, *LTUR* III (1996) 126-128, esp. 127; id., *ibid.*,

157-159 on Jupiter Stator, Aedes ad Circum, with the same story.

⁷⁵ Pliny, *NH* 35.120 (= *SQ* 2391). Nothing is known regarding the temple and even its location is debated. Cf. Ziolkowski 1992, 58-60; D. Palombi, *LTUR* III (1996) 31-33.

The old monument, built around 200 BC by Marcellus and his son,⁷⁶ was restored in Pliny's time, probably as a result of the Great Fire of 64, and received new decorations. As to Attius Priscus, Pliny adds that he was *antiquis similior*, which may imply that he either followed the style and manner of the old decorations at hand or had a style of painting out of fashion in his days, apparently without having lesser qualities. While we do not know anything about these decorations, it can only be said that the names of these persons are Roman and that the men surely were no simple craftsmen but members of the higher social circles, comparable with Nero's court painter Famulus, which might even be the reason that they are mentioned at all. Funeral inscriptions bearing their names could indeed be those of the painters in question.⁷⁷

The Temple of Apollo on the Palatine was adorned with numerous precious works of art; the doors described by Propertius are the most conspicuous items (see p. 31, 34).⁷⁸ Another poem by the same poet, *carmen* 4.6.15-68, contains a description of the naval battle near Actium, which has been interpreted by Francis Cairns as an *ekphrasis* of a painting located in this temple. Ruth Rothaus Caston discussed this idea in a recent essay on *ekphrasis* in this special poem. The poet first explicitly says he will discuss the temple (4.6.11: *Musa, Palatini referemus Apollinis aedem*) and this is followed by a description of the monument.⁷⁹ The first lines are very descriptive, whereas the second part is rather different because of Apollo's speech and the flight of Cleopatra. So, Cairns may well be right. I quote the first section of this description (lines 15-24):

<i>est Phoebi fugiens Athamana ad litora portus,</i>	15
<i>qua sinus Ioniae murmura condit aquae,</i>	
<i>Actia Iuliae pelagus monumenta carinae,</i>	
<i>nautarum uotis non operosa uia.</i>	
<i>Huc mundi coiere manus: stetit aequore moles</i>	
<i>pineae, nec remis aequa fauebat auis.</i>	20
<i>Altera classis erat Teucro damnata Quirino,</i>	
<i>pilaque feminea turpiter acta manu:</i>	
<i>hinc Augusta ratis plenis Iouis omine uelis [...]</i>	

*There is a receding harbour of Phoebus on the shore of Athamas,
where the gulf of the Ionian Sea shuts up its rumble,
the sea as an Actian monument of the ships of Augustus,
a path not difficult for the prayers of the seamen.
Here came together the powers of the world: here stood on the sea a mass
of pinewood and no portent was equally favourable for all oars.
The first fleet was damned by Trojan Quirinus
and there were lances shamefully handled by women's hands:
on this side the ship of Augustus, its sails swollen by the omen of Jupiter
and the signs, already instructed to win for their Fatherland.*

⁷⁶ Miles 2008, 61-62, 66, 67.

⁷⁷ Cf. Zevi 1995 about their status. As to Famulus and painters' workshops see various contributions in *MededRom* 54, 1995.

⁷⁸ On the rich decoration see Gurval 1995, 123-127; Brouwers 2005 (no paintings). Doors are a constant theme in descriptions of temples (see *infra* 33-34, 38-39). The following epigram might also pertain to painted temple doors: *Anthologia Graeca* 9.768 (Simonides = SQ no. 1087. See Koch 2000, 14 [with incorrect reference to the Greek Anthology]):

Κίμων ἔγραψε τὴν θύραν τὴν δεξιάν,
τὴν δ' ἐξιόντων δεξιάν Διονύσιος
Kimon painted the right door,
Dionysios did the right one for them who leave.

⁷⁹ Cairns 1984, 153-154; Rothaus Caston 2003. The hymn could have been written for the *ludi quinquennales* of 16 BC. Rothaus Caston sees this description as an attempt at emulating Virgil's Actium descriptions, as we know from his shield description in *Aeneid* 8.

Whether a panel or a wall painting, the image would be similar to that on the shield made by Vulcanus and showing, among other things, the battle of Actium (*Aeneid* 8.671-713), the victory that was so important for Augustus.⁸⁰ The whole might look like a large seascape, with boats on the water – seen as if they really stood on a plane surface – and the shore with its buildings in the background. The *naumachiae* represented on Pompeian walls must be similar (see *infra* pp. 81-82, 120-121), and the genre of landscape elements reflects the introduction of landscape painting in Rome in this same period by Ludius or Studius.⁸¹ These comparisons are not sufficient to see the description as the documentation of a real painted wall. Propertius sees himself as a rival of the artists of Augustus. At the beginning of the poem he is a virtual *vates*, a cult minister, but at this point he becomes a painter of words, expressing his wishful thinking to be a real painter by means of a *paragone*. Therefore, the text is not very informative as to the real decoration of the building in question.

LITERARY DESCRIPTIONS OF TEMPLE DECORATIONS

There are, to my knowledge, three descriptions of temple decorations in ancient prose fiction. The first is a temple in the land of the Scythians, dedicated to Orestes and Pylades and described by Lucian in his famous dialogue on friendship, *Toxaris* (6). Toxaris tells his Greek guest Mnesikles that these decorations reflect the high estimation of friendship, expressed first on a stela discussed previously and also on the temple paintings:

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ νεῶ τὰ αὐτὰ ὅποσα ἡ στήλη δηλοῖ γραφαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν εἰκασμένα δείκνυνται, πλέων Ὀρέστης ἅμα τῷ φίλῳ, εἴτα ἐν τοῖς κρημοῖς διαφθαρείσης αὐτῷ τῆς νεῶς συνειλημμένος καὶ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν παρεσκευασμένος, καὶ ἡ Ἰφιγένεια ἤδη κατάρχεται αὐτῶν· καταντικρὺ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου τοίχου ἤδη ἐκδεδυκῶς τὰ δεσμὰ γέγραπται καὶ φονεύων τὸν Θόαντα καὶ τέλος ἀποπλέοντες, ἔχοντες τὴν Ἰφιγένειαν καὶ τὴν θεόν. Οἱ Σκύθαι δὲ ἄλλως ἐπιλαμβάνονται τοῦ σκάφους ἤδη πλέοντος ἐκκρεμαννύμενοι τῶν πηδαλίων καὶ ἐπαναβαίνειν πειρώμενοι, εἴτ' οὐδὲν ἀνύσαντες οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τραυματαῖαι, οἱ δὲ καὶ δέει τούτου ἀπονήχονται πρὸς τὴν γῆν. Ἐνθα δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἴδοι τις ἂν ὁπόσῃν ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων εὖνοιαν ἐπεδείκνυτο, ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας συμπλοκῇ. Πεποίηκε γὰρ ὁ γραφεὺς ἑκάτερον ἀμελοῦντα μὲν τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν πολεμίων, ἀμυνόμενον δὲ τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους θατέρῳ καὶ πρὸ ἐκείνου ἀπαντᾶν πειρώμενον τοῖς τοξεύμασι καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν τιθέμενον, εἰ ἀποθανεῖται σώσας τὸν φίλον, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ἐκείνον φερομένην πληγὴν προαρπάσας τῷ αὐτοῦ σώματι.

Mnesikles reacts (paragraph 8):

ἐλελήθεις δὲ με, ὦ γενναῖε, καὶ γραφεὺς ἀγαθὸς ὢν. Πάνυ γοῦν ἐναργῶς ἐπέδειξας ἡμῖν τὰς ἐν τῷ Ὀρεστείῳ εἰκόνας καὶ τὴν μάχην τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων τραύματα.

But the same things that were written on the stela are shown in paintings in the courtyard of the temple, represented by the old men: here Orestes is seafaring with his friend, then after the loss of his ship on the rocks, his arrest and preparation for the offering. And Iphigenia is already starting her duties. On the other, opposite wall he is painted, being already free from the ties and killing Thoas and many others of the Scythians. And finally, how they sail off [is shown] with Iphigeneia and the goddess. The Scythians try, without success, to catch the ship that is already moving away, while grasping the steers and trying to get on board. When they do not succeed at all, some are wounded; others swim away to the coast, afraid of being wounded. Here,

⁸⁰ Cairns 1984, 149-154; Rothaus Caston 2003; Gurval 1995, 249-278 (mentioning Cairns' proposal at p. 251 note 9, but neither approving nor denying). See also Gurval 1995, 233-

238 on the passage from Virgil.

⁸¹ Pliny, *NH* 35.116. See Ling 1977.

in the battle with the Scythians, one can rather see how much affection they show each other. For the painter has rendered each man so that he does not pay attention to the enemies around him, but is pushing back those who attack his comrade and trying to be a shield for him, hiding from the arrows and, not caring whether he dies, trying to rescue his friend, and shielding the shots from the enemy with his own body.

Mnesikles reacts (paragraph 8):

I had really forgotten, my dear, that you are a good painter. Indeed, you showed us very clearly the scenes in the Oreteion and the battle of the men and the wounds they incurred, the one for the other.

The theme of the decorations is clear: the adventures in Tauris of Orestes and Pylades, to whom the sanctuary is dedicated. When they try to take away Orestes' sister Iphigeneia they have to fight against the locals. These Scythians, the inhabitants of the region, are not cowards and show their courage, especially when defending their friends. This singling out of their bravery emphasizes the courage of our Greek friends. The motif of the couples is like that of the famous male couples from Thebes fighting for Epameinondas, whereas the aspect of the enemies' courage corresponds to the idea behind the erection of the monument of the Gauls at Pergamon, known from the 'Dying Gaul' and the 'Gaul killing himself after killing his wife' in Rome. The Theseion at Athens comes to mind as a direct parallel of a hero represented on the walls of his *heroon* and the depiction of men grasping the steers had also been painted within the Stoa Poikile in Athens.⁸² Lucian, as a matter of fact, could have had real paintings in mind. A curious detail is the interest in the skill of the painter. Since Toxaris paints with words, the *ekphrasis* gets an extra touch of imagination. For these reasons, the description of the temple is illustrative and fits the set of testimonies of real monuments. When we look for parallels in real art, second-century sarcophagi come to mind. The Orestes theme was rather popular and also well represented in other branches of art.⁸³

The second case is that of a Temple of Dionysos in an unknown *locus amoenus* near the sea described in Longos' novel *Daphnis et Chloe* or *Pastorales* (4.3.2 = *Recueil Milliet* 1985, no. 29), dating to the late Antonine or the Severan period. The building stands in a park with trees, there is an altar and the complex is tended by Lamon with the assistance of Daphnis. The interior is described at length and shows paintings with scenes from the life of the god of wine:

εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἔνδοθεν ὁ νεὼς Διονυσιακὰς γραφάς· Σεμέλην τίκτουσαν, Ἀριάδνην καθεύδουσαν, Λυκοῦργον δεδεμένον, Πενθέα δαιρούμενον· ἦσαν καὶ Ἴνδοι νικώμενοι καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ μεταμορφούμενοι πανταχοῦ Σάτυροι <πατοῦντες>, πανταχοῦ Βάκχαι χορεύουσαι· οὐδὲ ὁ Πᾶν ἡμέλητο· ἐκαθέζετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς συρίζων ἐπὶ πέτρας, ὅμοιον ἐνδιδόντι κοινὸν μέλος καὶ τοῖς πατοῦσι καὶ ταῖς χορευούσαις.

The temple had Dionysiac paintings inside: Semele in labour, Ariadne sleeping, Lykourgos bound, Pentheus torn. There were also the Indians conquered, and the Tyrrhenians metamorphosised. There were satyrs everywhere <treading the grapes>, everywhere Bacchantes dancing. And Pan had not been forgotten either. He was there, seated on the rocks and playing the syrinx, as if accompanying the treading satyrs and the dancing Bacchantes at the same time.

⁸² Longo 1986, 608-610 stresses the relationship with a real heroon. The text has been reproduced from this edition.

⁸³ See the overviews in *LIMC* V (1990) 722-726 s.v. Iphige-

neia (L. Kahlil et al.) and VII (1994) 601-604 s.v. Pylades (V. Macharia; reference to these two articles is made in the Orestes lemma in the same volume by the same author).

This set of mythological scenes recalls that in the old Temple of Dionysos in Athens. It is clear that, as in the previous example, the decorations are strictly connected with the god. He is introduced more or less here in the novel, until then dominated by Pan who gets his deserved place within the cycle. The stories strengthen Dionysos' image as a powerful and important god who serves as an *exemplum* for our youngman.

The third case is that of two panels adorning the rear wall of Zeus' Temple in Pelusion in the Nile delta, described in Achilles Tatius' novel *Leucippe and Clitophon*. Although pinakes fall out of the scope of this study, I mention them since the author explains them as a couple. He stresses iconographic and formal similarities in the works by Evanthes, but fails to connect them with the inhabitant of the temple:⁸⁴

Near the postern door we saw a double picture, signed by the artist; it had been painted by Evanthes, and represented first Andromeda, than Prometheus, both of them in chains – and this was the reason, I suppose, why the artist had associated the two subjects. In other respects too the two works were akin. In both, the chains were attached to a rock, and in both, beasts were the torturers – his from the air, and hers from the sea; their deliverers were Argives of the same family, his Herakles and hers Perseus; the one shooting Zeus's eagle and the other contending with the sea beast of Poseidon. The former was represented aiming with his arrow on land, the latter suspended in the air on his wings.

The two ancient poetic descriptions of fictitious temples that now follow are extremely interesting because the authors describe works of art that are essential to the development of the narrative and have a great impact on the psyche of the protagonists. The reader gets the impression that he is an eyewitness who shares the emotions evoked in the hero when he studies the paintings. Therefore, these two fictitious monuments will be discussed in some detail. First, I will discuss the temple of Juno in Carthage as seen by Aeneas in Virgil's *Aeneid*. In the second case, Silius Italicus' *Punica*, the reader visits a temple in Liternum together with Hannibal.

THE TEMPLE OF JUNO IN CARTHAGE

In the first Book of the *Aeneid* the reader walks with Aeneas through Carthage, newly founded and still under construction under the aegis of Dido. The protagonist sees a temple dedicated to Juno in a sacred grove (*lucus*, 1.441). Aeneas' eye falls on paintings that depict scenes from the Trojan War, in which the Trojan was personally much involved:⁸⁵

*namque sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo
reginam opperiens, dum quae fortuna sit urbi
artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem
miratur, videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas
bellaque iam fama totum uulgata per orbem,
Atridas Priamumque et saeuum ambobus Achillem.* 455

⁸⁴ Leucippe and Clitophon 3.6.3-4. In the paragraphs 5-8 a lengthy description of each painting is following. Translation taken from G. Gagelee, Cambridge Mass 1917, 153 (Loeb series).

⁸⁵ Verg., *Aen.* 1.441-493. 1.441-452: construction of the temple, 1.453-493: description of the *Iliacas ex ordine pugnas* (1.456).

constitit et lacrimans 'quis iam locus' inquit, 'Achate,
 quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris? 460
 en Priamus, sunt hinc etiam sua praemia laudi,
 sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.
 solue metus; feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem.'
 sic ait atque animum pictura pascit inani
 multa gemens, largoque umectat flumine uultum, 465
 namque uidebat uti bellantes Pergama circum
 hac fugerent Grai, premeret Troiana iuuentus;
 hac Phryges, instaret curru cristatus Achilles.
 nec procul hinc Rhesi niueis tentoria uelis
 agnoscit lacrimans, primo quae prodita somno 470
 Tydides multa uastabat caede cruentus,
 ardentisque auertit equos in castra prius quam
 pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent;
 parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis,
 infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli, 475
 fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani,
 lora tenens tamen; huic ceruixque comaeque trahuntur
 per terram, et uersa pulvis inscribitur hasta,
 interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant
 crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant 480
 suppliciter, tristes et tunsae pectora palmis;
 diua solo fixos oculos auersa tenebat.
 ter circum Iliacos raptauerat Hectora muros
 exanimumque auro corpus uendebat Achilles.
 tum uero ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo, 485
 ut spolia, ut currus, utque ipsum corpus amici
 tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermis.
 se quoque principibus permixtum agnouit Achiuis,
 Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma.
 ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis 490
 Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet,
 aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae
 bellatrix, audetque uiris concurrere uirgo.

For, while waiting for the queen, he looks at the single elements under the roof of the enormous temple and admires what is the fortune of the city and the group of artists and their labour. He sees the battles of Troy in their sequence and the wars, already famous all over the world, the sons of Atreus, Priam and Achilles, cruel to both of them. He stands still and says, weeping: 'Which place, Achatos, which area on earth is not full of our labour? O Priam, here praise even has its rewards, here are tears about things done and mortal matters touch the mind. Leave your fear; this fame will bring you a form of salvation.'

So he spoke and he fed his mind with the idle painting, groaning heavily, and he moistened his face with a flood of tears. For he saw how along this side the Greeks fighting around Troy fled and the Trojan youth pressed them; hither the Phrygians and Achilles with a crest stood on his chariot. Not far from here he recognised, weeping, the tent of Rhesos with its white fabric, which the son of Tydeus, covered with blood, destroyed with much bloodshed, when people inside were sunk in deep sleep and he led his raging horses away to the camp before they could taste the fodder of Troy and drink the water of Xanthos.

In another place there is Troilos, fleeing after losing his weapons; the unhappy boy, a match unequal to Achilles, is taken by his horses and he is stuck, lying against his empty chariot, still holding the reins; his head and hair are dragged over the ground and the dust is written in by his turned-up lance.

At the same time the Trojan women went with loosened hair to the temple of the unjust Pallas, and they brought a peplos as suppliants, mourning and beating their breasts with their hands; the goddess had turned away and held her eyes fixed to the ground. Three times Achilles had dragged Hector around the walls of Troy and he sold the dead body for gold. But then Aeneas gave an enormous moan deep from his breast, when he saw the spoils, the chariots, the corpse itself of his friend and Priam stretching his unarmed hands. And he even recognised himself in a mêlée with the Achaean leaders, and the ranks of the Eoans and the weaponry of black Memnon. In fury, Penthesileia led the troops of the Amazons with their moon-shaped shields and she hotly fought among her thousands, the golden belt bound under her uncovered breast, and as a virgin she dared to clash with men.

The representations show Aeneas' former opponent Achilles as the dominating, all-conquering personality. Thus he adopts a severe attitude against Agamemnon during the conflict concerning Briseis. This episode is of no real importance to the Trojans, except for Achilles' temporary withdrawal from the battlefield which makes the Trojans' situation more agreeable and is evidence of Achilles' peevish character. More dramatic is the moment when Achilles drags Hector first around the walls of Troy and then around the pyre for Patroklos, after which he also receives Hector's father Priam in a haughty manner. During subsequent events, not described in Homer's *Iliad*, Achilles kills the unarmed Troilos and the dreaded Amazon queen Penthesileia.⁸⁶

Despite his superior strength this dominance does not provide Achilles with splendour and, in fact, he is depicted in a very negative way (1.458: *saeuum*, lacking self-control in front of Agamemnon, 472: *cruentus*, bloodthirsty). Once in a while Aeneas is filled with disgust by this display of severity and he weeps or sighs several times (1.459, 465, 470, 485). At the same time Aeneas knows very well – as does the reader – that an early death had been announced to Achilles. Aeneas is aware of the fact that the goddess venerated in this temple, Juno, had been a relentless enemy of the Trojans (and also of Aeneas). She was the patron of the Greeks and now acts in the same capacity in favour of the town that will be the future antagonist of Rome, the city that is considered the legitimate successor of Troy. The poet equates the Phoenicians with the Greeks and, hence, from the very beginning lets them play the rôle of the eternal adversaries of Rome.

This description of images does not yield information about what the paintings looked like and the archaeologist cannot extract any helpful data. The reader from Virgil's time in Rome might have had an opportunity to compare them with contemporary works of art in other temples, such as the opulent decoration in the temples of Apollo Actiacus, founded by Augustus next to his house on the Palatine. Here, the myths depicted showed the theme of Apollo's revenge and power and, in the person of Apollo, the emperor himself, the follower of the Sun god.⁸⁷ If the reader in antiquity wanted to grasp correctly the Trojan scenes depicted in Carthage as a part of the whole poem, he had to know the rest of the *Aeneid* extremely well. As Michael Putnam put it succinctly, here "sight and insight confer", i.e. the painted episodes announce experiences that Aeneas will acquire and adventures that he as well as his enemies will have to cope with. So Dido, who falls in love with Aeneas, dies an equally tragic death as the Amazon queen Penthesileia in the Trojan War. The former commits suicide on the pyre when Aeneas abandons her – by order of the gods –, the latter dies by the hand of Achilles on the battleground at the moment they fall in love. In this respect Achilles and Aeneas become kindred spirits, both suffer

⁸⁶ Williams 1960, especially highlights the non *Iliad*-related adventures to confirm Achilles' cruelty and the inescapability of Troy's destiny. The ensemble is (p. 151, last words) "a

story as well as an art gallery."

⁸⁷ As described by Propertius in 2.31. Cf. P. Gros, *LTUR* I (1993) 54-57; Hekster and Rich 2006.

from the same fate, namely that they are not allowed to love the woman they encounter. Finally, Turnus' destiny equals that of the Trojan hero Troilos.⁸⁸

The order of the scenes, narrated in chronological order from the time of Achilles to the Sack of Troy, suggests that they were also represented in such a sequence, i.e. *ex ordine* (1.456). The rather vague indications of place in this passage (*en, hac, nec procul hinc, parte alia*) suggest that Aeneas' gaze went from one spot to the other, like most of us, when seeing a complex set of scenes for the first time. Eventually, the order of the stories dictates their place within the cycle, but Virgil's is a masterly evocation of the wandering gaze of Aeneas. One might even guess that Aeneas sees all the episodes from one standpoint – he is described as far as his emotions are concerned, but seems to stand still all the time – and that the scenes are set into superimposed friezes on *one* wall instead of forming a horizontal series spread over all walls. In a real picture this aspect of default expectation is well-known and we will examine the puzzling order of the registers of scenes in the Synagogue of Dura Europos (Chapter 8). In the time of Virgil we find many figural scenes in the House of Livia and the Villa della Farnesina. These adorn both the main and upper zones as well as the predella and friezes, which created a dazzling effect. Indeed, one has to ask whether the viewer ever wondered where to look first.

Where in the temple complex did Aeneas see these paintings? The poet states that Aeneas studied them *sub ingenti ... templo* (1.453), which means at the bottom or in the lower area of the huge building. From the next passage we learn that he did not enter the temple. Neither Aeneas nor the reader learns anything about the interior. When Dido arrives and interrupts Aeneas' contemplations and observations, she seats herself on a throne near the doorway. That could mean that the Trojan scenes were on the entrance wall, around the door of the building. The story continues with the address by Ilioneus (1.505-506), after which Aeneas is taken to the queen's palace (*regia*, 1.631), whose decoration is described extensively (1.637-642). *Sub ingenti ... templo*, therefore, implies that the paintings were on the outer walls of the building. Because of *sub* one may exclude that Virgil thought of a fence or a portico, a feature we will see shortly at Liternum and in the temple of Apollo in Pompeii (see *infra* and Chapter 3). The preposition points to a roof on this wall, the term contains the notion of 'under' and it is plausible to assume a peripteros or a protruding roof. The old Etruscan and Italic temples with their broad side aisles come to mind, as their walls are deeply hidden and, seen from below, look low, for which *sub* of course would be an appropriate term. That does not necessitate that this refers to a dado, which probably would not have accommodated figural scenes. The description is not a precise summing up of a real set of decorations, but gives a clear and realistic depiction of murals in an Etrusco-Italic temple, the type of which could still have been seen by the poet and the first generation of his readers.

The scenes with Achilles have no immediate relationship with the venerated goddess Juno, that is in the sense of an active rôle of the goddess in Achilles' deeds, and do not immortalise her in any particular scene. The connection between Achilles and Juno is minimal or even absent except for the fall of Troy, in which both of them are instrumental. For the Carthaginians the Sack of Troy is not relevant in terms of self-identification, but it is one of the famous historical battles that can serve as an exemplum for their young nation. Carthage is still unaware of the future when Aeneas arrives and just like the hero, they are not yet full of grief against the inhabitants of that town. Nevertheless, for the reader of the Augustan period both the cycle of images and the goddess are capital examples of the enmity (now and in the narrative future) the Greeks had and the Carthaginians will

⁸⁸ Putnam 1998, 23-54 (= HSCP 98, 1998, 243-275). Cf. Horsfall 1995, 105-108, where the negative description of Achilles is taken into account. Holliday 2002 opens his study with this quotation and uses it as an example of the typically Roman application of mythology as an allegory of history, though he does not pursue this observation throughout his text. Giuliani 2003 illustrates Achilles' cruelty with an

analysis of illustrations of the delivery of Hector's corpse to king Priam. See esp. his pp. 151, 155, 157-158. Rijser 2006, XVIII-XXIII gives a 'classical' reading of this ekphrasis; he points to the fact that Penthesileia is the last episode described which matches the destiny Dido will be subjected to shortly.

harbour against Aeneas and Rome. Therefore, the *Troianae pugnae* constitute an excellent iconographical programme in the Carthaginian temple of Juno (cf. Chapter 3, section on the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii). The choice is not very original because the Battle of Troy was famous (1.457: *fama totum uulgata per orbem*) and had formed an appropriate decorative motif on many temples from the late Archaic period onwards (including the Aegina pediments, mentioned above). Seen from this point of view, Virgil might even have made a topical choice, but the intertextual arguments discussed here prevent us from limiting interpretation to just one idea.

Virgil can be characterised as a man who has a predominately visual approach to his topics, an aspect singled out in a fascinating monograph by Riggs Smith (2005). An aspect that would have been of interest for our topic, the descriptions of art works, is excluded from this discussion. Moreover, as Putnam (see *supra* p. 31) notes: “In the *Aeneid* vision offers a means for bringing the future and past together” (p. 95).

I would like to briefly recall another description of a work of art in the *Aeneid* that produces a similar reaction in Aeneas and also pertains to temple decoration. At Cumae the Trojan sees the Temple of Apollo, founded by the Cretan inventor Daidalos when he reached the shores of Campania after fleeing Crete and losing son Ikaros:⁸⁹

<i>in foribus letum Androgeo; tum pendere poenas</i>	20
<i>Cecropidae iussi (miserum!) septena quotannis</i>	
<i>corpora natorum; stat ductis sortibus urna.</i>	
<i>contra elata mari respondet Gnosia tellus:</i>	
<i>hic crudelis amor tauri suppositaque furto</i>	
<i>Pasiphae mixtumque genus prôlesque biformis</i>	25
<i>Minotaurus inest, Veneris monimenta nefandae;</i>	
<i>hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error;</i>	
<i>magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem</i>	
<i>Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resoluit,</i>	
<i>caeca regens filo uestigia. tu quoque magnam</i>	30
<i>partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes.</i>	
<i>bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro,</i>	
<i>bis patriae cecidere manus.</i>	

On the doors is the death of Androgeos; then the sons of Kekrops ordered (alas!) to pay as a tribute seven sons each year; there stands the urn, with the lots drawn. On the other door the land of Knossos is depicted, rising from the sea: here is the cruel love of a bull and Pasiphae subjected to him in secret, and the deformed infant, the double-shaped child Minotaur, as a reminder of a monstrous passion; here also that hard labour and inescapable error of the house; but, pitying the great love of the queen [Ariadne], Daidalos personally resolved the tricky labyrinth of the house, guiding the blind footsteps [of Theseus] with a thread. You, Ikaros, would also have an important place in so great a work, if sorrow had permitted. Two times Daidalos tried to represent your fall in gold; two times your father's hands dropped.

The doors bear reliefs representing the saga of Crete as experienced, or at least witnessed, by Daidalos himself: the sacrifice of children from Athens once every seven years, Pasiphae's passion for a bull, their child Minotaurus, the labyrinth, and Ariadne, not mentioned by name by Virgil. Daidalos had even tried to represent the escape and fall of his son Ikaros, but overwhelmed by grief, he had lacked the power to do so. Although Aeneas likes to continue the study of these scenes, the Sibyl presses him to move on since she wants him to reach the underworld.

⁸⁹ Verg., *Aen.* 6.20-33.

This variant of the history of Daidalos is peculiar and was probably invented by Virgil. In this art description the negative effects of Daidalos' inventions (artificial cow, labyrinth) are stressed and even experienced by the inventor himself. That might even have its effect on his artistic talents, which are dangerous in that they almost bring alive his relief figures. A concrete parallel for ivory carvings on the doors of temples are the door leaves from the above-mentioned temple of Apollo Actiacus on the Palatine, showing Apollo as a *kitharoidos* among the sinners (the Niobids and the Gauls which had dared to assault Parnassus).⁹⁰ The door of the Dagon temple, with its Greco-Roman deities, depicted in detail in the Synagogue of Dura Europos, gives a good impression how such doors looked like.⁹¹

As in the case of the Temple of Juno, the doors of the Temple of Apollo lack a direct connection between the Cretan saga and Apollo, even if the sanctuary had been erected in thanksgiving after the safe arrival at Cumae. Ikaros' fall was caused by the heat of the sun, over which Apollo had power and thus in the form of the sun Apollo was Daidalos' enemy. For Virgil the literary effect of the episode is apparently more important than a possible fitting thematic relationship with the god worshipped in the temple. The passage is intriguing in the context of the complete *Aeneid* because, like the Trojan misadventures seen at Carthage, the illustrated scenes gradually become connected with Aeneas' adventures. Fausto Zevi has rightly pointed out that the Sibyl's suggestion not to dwell any longer in front of the Greek master's art has to be associated with Anchises' assignment to his son in Hades, wherein the father argues (6.847-853) that other people might work bronze and marble and exercise science,⁹² but we, the Romans (he no longer addresses the Trojan Aeneas, but the reader, *Romane*, 6.851), are destined to govern and – in one of the most famous sentences from the *Aeneid* (6.853) – *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* ('to spare the humbled and to tame in war the proud').

For both instances we recall Putnam's remark about Carthage: the *ekphrasis* announces what will come. Moreover, in these few verses, the poet creates a field of tension between the ideal notion of the traditional, simple Romans and those of modern times, gradually influenced by the Greek and Hellenistic culture, the 'feminine' ambience of his own era symbolised in persons like Mark Antony.⁹³

⁹⁰ The only source is Propertius 2.31.12-16. Cf. note 87 and see Lefèvre 1989; Brouwers 2005.

⁹¹ Moon 1995, 297-299, figs. 16.7 and 16.9. As to the synagogue s. infra Chapter 8. On Dagon see Dirven 2004, 5 (with references to the Old Testament). A further literary example of the description of temple doors is that of Taxila in India where at the end of the first century Apollonius of Tyana visits a temple with his companion Damis. In the former capital of the empire of Poros he sees the doors on which the battles between Poros and Alexander are depicted in the form of bronze reliefs. Nuances were enhanced by accentuated painting. The scenes do not show specific deeds of Alexander, but battle elements such as "elephants, horses, soldiers, helmets, shields, spears and javelins and swords of iron". The colours remind Apollonios of paintings by great masters like Zeuxis, Polygnotos and Euphranor thanks to the skillful rendering of light and shade and the lifelike effect of the figures, the effect of relief and depth. This evokes a debate about painting and its possibilities to recreate reality in

images. Apollonios concludes: "Damis, we do neither consider these reliefs of Poros only as works of art in bronze, for they are similar to paintings, nor as paintings only, as they were wrought in bronze, but let us argue that a man, painter and bronze maker alike, designed them like in Homer, where Hephaistos appears as the maker of the shield of Achilles. For everything is full of killing and killed men and the bronze represents the ground full of blood" (Philostr., *Ap.* 2.20-41 = *Recueil Milliet* 1985, no. 52). The applied technique produces various effects and so a higher degree of realism. Cf. Fowler 1996, 58-61.

⁹² Zevi 1995, 188 argues that the profession of a painter is not mentioned even if there existed a certain degree of esteem for it. An example is given by the Roman citizen Fabius Pictor, who personally decorated a temple (here p. 18-19). Pliny, however, says something different, s. note 46.

⁹³ Putnam offers lovers of literature and psychologists fundamental stimuli in his penetrating narrative analysis of the text: Putnam 1998, 75-96 (= *AJPh* 108, 1987, 173-198). See also Smith 2005, 88-89.

It should also be noted that the temple underwent important architectural changes during the reign of the first emperor. Augustus' connection with his favoured god Apollo was one of the reasons why so much attention was paid to the building.⁹⁴

A TEMPLE IN LITERNUM

The interaction between the viewer and the representation is easy to see in the second literary example, taken from the *Punica* of Silius Italicus, the longest epos known in Latin poetry, written at the end of the first century AD. In this poetic description of the Second Punic War, the narrator always has in mind the different narrative perspectives of the persons on both sides – Roman and Punic. In connection with the verses of the *Aeneid* just discussed it is noticeable that Hannibal's actions are described by Silius as a consequence of the hatred of Juno, partly even having their origins in Dido's suicide.

In the sixth book the Carthaginian general Hannibal makes an unstoppable march through Italy as far as Campania. During a short sojourn in Liternum he sees a temple decorated with scenes from the First Punic War:⁹⁵

<i>hic dum stagnosi spectat templumque domosque</i>	
<i>Literni ductor, varia splendentia cernit</i>	
<i>pictura belli patribus monumenta prioris</i>	655
<i>exhausti; nam porticibus signata manebant,</i>	
<i>quis inerat longus rerum et spectabilis ordo.</i>	
<i>primus bella truci suadebat Regulus ore,</i>	
<i>bella neganda, viro si noscere fata daretur.</i>	
<i>ac princeps Poenis indicta more parentum</i>	660
<i>Appius astabat pugna lauroque reuinctus</i>	
<i>iustum Sarrana ducebat caede triumphum.</i>	
<i>aequoreum iuxta decus et nauale tropaeum,</i>	
<i>rostra gerens niuea surgebat mole columna:</i>	
<i>exuuias Marti donumque Duilius alto</i>	665
<i>ante omnes mersa Poenorum classe, dicabat.</i>	
<i>cui, nocturnus honos, funalia clara sacerque</i>	
<i>post epulas tibicen adest, castosque penates</i>	
<i>insignis laeti repetebat murmure cantus.</i>	
<i>cernit et extremos defuncti ciuis honores:</i>	670
<i>Scipio ductoris celebrabat funera Poeni,</i>	
<i>Sardoa uictor terra. uidet inde ruentem</i>	
<i>litoribus Libycis dispersa per agmina pubem;</i>	
<i>instabat crista fulgens et terga premebat</i>	
<i>Regulus; Autololes Nomadesque et Maurus et Hammon</i>	675
<i>et Garamas positos dedebant oppida telis.</i>	
<i>lentus harenoso spumabat Bagrada campo</i>	
<i>uiiperea sanie, turmisque minantibus ultro</i>	
<i>pugnabat serpens et cum duce bella gerebat.</i>	

⁹⁴ D'Arms 1970, 80. On the temple Gallo 1986.

Delz, Stuttgart 1987, 162-164 - Teubner).

⁹⁵ Silius, *Punica* 6.653-716 - finale of the sixth book (edition I.

necnon proiectum puppi frustraue uocantem numina Amyclaeum mergebat perfida ponto rectorem manus, et seras tibi, Regule, poenas Xanthippus digni pendebat in aequore leti. addiderant geminas medio consurgere fluctu Aegates; lacerae circum fragmenta videres	680 685
classis et effusos fluitare in gurgite Poenos. possessor pelagi pronaque Lutatius aura captiuas puppes ad litora uictor agebat. haec inter iuncto religatus in ordine Hamilcar, ductoris genitor, cunctarum ab imagine rerum totius in sese uulgi conuerterat ora.	690
sed pacis faciem et pollutas foederis aras deceptumque Iouem ac dictantes iura Latinos cernere erat. strictas trepida ceruice secures horrebat Libys, ac summissis ordine palmis orantes ueniam iurabant irrita pacta. haec Eryce e summo spectabat laeta Dione.	695
Quae postquam infesto percensuit omnia uultu arridens Poenus, lenta proclamat ab ira: "non leuiores dabis nostris inscribere tectis acta meae dextrae: captam, Carthago, Saguntum da spectare, simul flamma ferroque ruentem; perfodiant patres natorum membra. nec Alpes exiguus domitas capiet locus; ardua celsis persultet iuga uictor equis Garamasque Nomasque addes Ticini spumantes sanguine ripas et nostrum Trebiam et Thrasymenni litora Tusci clausa cadaueribus. ruat ingens corpore et armis Flaminius, fugiat consul manante cruore Scipio et ad socios nati ceruice uehatur.	700 705 710
haec mitte in populos, et adhuc maiora dabuntur. flagrantem effinges facibus, Carthago, Libyssis Romam et deiectum Tarpeia rupe Tonantem. interea uos, ut dignum est, ista, ocus ite, o iuuenes, quorum dextris mihi tanta geruntur, in cineres monumenta date atque inuoluite flammis."	715

While the general [Hannibal] looked here at the temple and the houses of swampy Liternum, he observed variously painted, brilliant glorious deeds [monumenta] of the war carried to the end by his fathers; for the pictures remained within the portico, a long and noteworthy sequence of deeds. First Regulus with a harsh aspect proposed to begin war, a war in fact to be discouraged, if he could know his future. Next stood Appius, the instigator, who had declared war to the Phoenicians in the way of the fathers; crowned with laurel he held a deserved triumph after the slaughter of Sarrana. Next were the glory of the sea and the trophy of the sea battle: it was a massive rising column white as snow, bearing ships' beaks: first of all Duilius dedicated the spoils and the gift to the mighty Mars, after sinking the Punic fleet. He received as an honourable tribute shining torches and a sacred piper by night after his meal; and he returned to his chaste home honoured by the sound of a happy song. Hannibal also saw the last honours paid to a fallen citizen: Scipio conducted the funeral of the Punic leader, Scipio

being the victor in Sardinia. Next he saw the Roman youth rushing on through shattered troops of the adversary on the Libyan coast; Regulus urged them, shining by his crested helm, and he pursued the tail of the troops; the Autoleans, Nomads, Mauretanians, Hammonians and Garamantians laid down the weapons and surrendered their cities. Slow Bagrada river foamed with viperlike gore in the desert and with menacing squadrons this snake was engaging in the fight and waged war with the general. The treacherous band also flung the Amyclaeen steersman into the sea, cast down from the stern and calling his gods in vain, while Xanthippus suffered for you, Regulus, punishments at last consisting of a worthy death at sea.

Next they painted the twin Aegatian islands, rising from the sea; you could see the shackles of the ruined fleet and the drowned Phoenicians floating around in the torrent. Governor of the sea, Lutatius as the victor brought the captive ships ashore with a favourable wind. Hamilcar was chained in a long row of prisoners: the father of the general had turned onto himself the glance of all, away from the representation of all other scenes. But you could see the illusory peace and the stained altars of the treaty, a deceived Jupiter, and the Latins dictating the terms. The Libyans shrunk back with trembling neck from the unsheathed axes and prayed for mercy with their hands raised and they swore the invalid pacts. Dione [Venus] looked in happiness at these things from high Eryx. When the Phoenician had studied all these things, laughing at them grimly, he shouted with a rising scorn: "You, Carthage, will give us the inspiration for deeds of my hand to be depicted in our dwellings: let us see a captured Saguntum collapsing by fire and iron alike; let fathers stab the bodies of their sons and no small space will be occupied by the conquest of the Alps; and may the Garamantes and the Numidians as conquerors scour the difficult passes with tall horses. You will add the shores of the Ticinus foaming with blood and our Trebia and the bank of Tuscan Thrasymenian Lake blocked by corpses.⁹⁶ May the giant Flaminius collapse with body and arms; may consul Scipio flee, his blood pouring down, and be brought to his friends on the shoulders of his son. Give such [images] to the nations and still greater things will happen. Carthage, you will depict Rome burning by the Libyan torches and [Jupiter] Tonans thrown down from the Tarpeian rock. For now, you, young men, proceed quickly as is suitable - your hands achieve so much for me - and set these monuments in ashes and cover them in the flames."

The deeds Hannibal refers to in his short speech were familiar to the reader because they had been described extensively in the previous *Punica* books: the fall of Saguntum in 218 (book 2), Hannibal crossing the Alps (book 3), battles at the Ticinus and Tebia rivers lost by Scipio (book 4), the battle of Lake Trasimene lost by Flaminius because of *negligentia deorum* (book 5) and Attilius Regulus (book 6).

The paintings Hannibal is looking at are in a portico⁹⁷ and show nine episodes from the First Punic War, won by the Romans. These themes are subdivided into three sets of three scenes so that one may reconstruct the setting in the form of a *porticus triplex*, a three-sided portico with three scenes on each wall. Despite this interruption in the description it is plausible that this construction belonged to the temple. The description reminds one of the panning of a movie camera and forces Hannibal to move his gaze.⁹⁸ In contrast with Aeneas' scenes,

⁹⁶ This suggests Carthage as the commissioner of these scenes.

⁹⁷ Silius says that the paintings were well preserved (*Pun.* 6.656: *nam porticibus signata manebant*) and the situation therefore should be similar to that of the portico of the Apollo temple in Pompeii discussed in Chapter 3. If this is true, Silius uses anachronism, as these sort of porticos were not yet known in Italy during the mid-Republican period.

On the rise of temple porticos see Gros 1996, 97-99.

⁹⁸ Fröhlich 2000, 360-372 discusses this section in detail. Here the reader finds the suggestion of a II-shaped building and the connection with the temple. See also Marks 2003, who proposes a slightly different division of the scenes (p. 130: the distribution of the images would be difficult, note 2). Cf. Croisille 1982, 301-305. On the terminology Luschin 2002, 37.

the Liternum paintings form a systematic set (6.657): *longus rerum et spectabilis ordo*. We may presume that they occupied panels in the main zone of the walls. Hannibal had to walk around and did not cast his looks randomly, instead following this precise layout.

Hannibal's reaction to the representations remains unknown. He even seems to disappear, when the poet apparently addresses the reader. The descriptions are completely Romanocentric.⁹⁹ When we come to the end of the presentation of the Roman standpoint, the Carthaginian fulminates: may a fire destroy these decorations after the final victory of the Phoenicians (6.714-716). In this way he echoes the fears of the Roman public. Whereas Aeneas identifies himself with the scenes in Carthage, Hannibal does not do so. That is the reason why Silius needs many more visual details than Virgil. The effect on the viewer is greater.

The Romans knew Liternum as the last residence of Scipio the Elder, who defeated Hannibal at the end of the Second Punic War and devastated Carthage.¹⁰⁰ The poet purposely chose this location as the setting of this episode, Hannibal almost visits the house of his future adversary without being aware of it. Among the Roman leaders in the First Punic War (261-246 BC) described in the poem, an ancestor of Scipio, Lucius Cornelius Scipio, occupies an essential position (6.671). Silius describes the irritation of the Carthaginian visitor and even has Hannibal address his mother city Carthage. He urges her to eternalise his coming victory at least as beautifully as has been done at Liternum for the Roman heroes. This soliloquy ending with the wish that fire may annihilate these paintings formed the beginning of Hannibal's fall for the Roman readers, who already knew the outcome of the war, also described by Silius in the seventeenth and final Book of the *Punica*. Roman readers could easily jeer at Hannibal's emotions and behaviour. A personal touch might be the fact that Silius possessed land in this region and used to live here, since he is referring to having the Tomb of Virgil in his neighbourhood.¹⁰¹

The divinity to whom the temple is dedicated is not mentioned by name.¹⁰² Raymond Marks recently proposed that it might have been dedicated to Scipio the Elder, an idea which cannot be proven, but which is a rather attractive hypothesis especially if we take into account the observations formulated here.¹⁰³ In that case the complex was a huge *heroon* of fairly Greek taste and ambitions.

This study is not devoted to literary analysis, but a comparison with Virgil is tempting. Silius must have had in mind the description of the Temple of Juno. He also rivals the Augustan poet in another *ekphrasis* which shows Hannibal in a similar position as Aeneas at Cumae watching the auctor of the Temple of Apollo in a similar way. When Hannibal enters Gades, modern Cadiz in Spain, after the devastation of Saguntum, he sees the Temple of Herakles. Its doors show some episodes from Herakles' life:¹⁰⁴

*in foribus labor Alcidae: Lernaea recisis
anguibus hydra iacet, nexuque elisa leonis
ora Cleonaei patulo caelantur hiatu.
at Stygius saevis terrens latratibus umbras
ianitor, aeterno tum primum tractus ab antro,
uincla indignatur, metuitque Megaera catenas.*

35

⁹⁹ Marks 2003, 137 underlines Aeneas' and Hannibal's differing responses to the art.

¹⁰⁰ Because the Romans settled there as late as 197 BC, this point has been considered to be an anachronism, but see Fröhlich 2000, 376.

¹⁰¹ Martialis, ep. 11.48: *Silius haec magni celebrat monumenta Maronis / jugera facundi qui Ciceronis habet. / Heredem dominumque sui tumuliue larisue / non alium mallet nec Maro nec Cicero*. I would like to thank David Rijser for this

information.

¹⁰² Cf. Fowler 1996, 65-73.

¹⁰³ Marks 2003, 144 concludes: "... after all, he [Scipio] would achieve immortality for the very deeds that its [the temple's] paintings foreshadow."

¹⁰⁴ Silius, *Punica* 3.32-44. The immediately following description of the Atlantic Ocean's tide witnessed with astonishment by Hannibal could even be seen as a type of *ekphrasis* (vs. 45-60). Cf. Croisille 1982, 322-324.

*iuxta Thraces equi pestisque Erymanthia et altos
aeripedis ramos superantia cornua cerui.
nec leuior uinci Libycae telluris alumnus
matre super stratique genus deforme bimebris
Centauri frontemque minor nunc amnis Acarnan.
inter quae fulget sacratis ignibus Oete,
ingentemque animam rapiunt ad sidera flammae.*

40

On the doors are the labours of Herakles: the Hydra of Lerna lies down, its snakes cut off, and the head of the Kleonian lion crushed in his clasp is engraved with its mouth wide open. But the doorkeeper of the Styx, who terrifies the dead with his terrible barking, is now dragged out of his eternal cave for the first time and he rages at the bonds, and Megaira fears the chains. Next are the Thracian horses and the Eurymanthian pest, as well as the antlers of the bronze-footed stag, reaching above the trees. And there were the son of the Libyan land, not very easy to defeat when standing on top of his mother, and the misshapen race of Centaurs, half man, half beast, and the Akarnanian stream, now missing one horn. In the centre of all these the Oita is glittering by holy fires and flames take away an enormous spirit towards the stars.

We recognise, sometimes hidden in *recherché* poetic periphrases, six *athloi*, namely the Nemean lion, the Hydra of Lerna, the Eurymanthian boar, the Kerynean stag, Kerberos and the Horses of Diomedes. Furthermore, the fight with Antaios on Herakles' way to the Hesperids, the conflicts with Nessos and Acheloos and, finally, his self-chosen death on Oita, from which Herakles' spirit is carried to Olympus. The composition of the images is not easy to reconstruct. Was the Oita episode in the centre (*inter quas*) or one of the others, i.e. in two columns on the two door halves?¹⁰⁵ The Antaios scene brings Hannibal back to his own country. As to the fight with Acheloos and Herakles' ascent to heaven, these were depicted in the *Aedes Augustalium* at Herculaneum (see Chapter 6 with fig. 54).

Concerning the technique with which these scenes were made, the only clue is the verb *caelantur* in line 34, which signifies relief work, either by cutting and carving in stone, bone/ivory and wood, or by embossing in metal (*repoussé*). The verb *fulget* in line 43 might even be ambiguous; of course it refers to the fire set by Herakles himself, but it may also illustrate bright colour, possibly gold or yellow brass, in which case the doors would have had bronze reliefs. Ironically this temple had reportedly been founded at the same time as that of Juno in Carthage! Herakles was the equivalent of the Phoenician god Melqart.¹⁰⁶

CONCLUSIONS

The ancient sources provide us with two types of information, descriptions of, or references to, now lost monuments in Greek and Roman towns and literary evocations of fictitious temples in epic poems. Conclusions can be drawn from both types of source.

The descriptions of real temples stem from prose, mainly historical or technical works. They demonstrate that only masterpieces or curiosities entered the domain of literature. Pliny's selection is particularly illuminating because he lays down the origins and the contemporary practices regarding temple paintings and records when members of noble families were directly involved. This social element is considered more important than

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Croisille 1982, 323 on this point.

¹⁰⁷ See the good analysis of Book 35 on painting by Isager 1991,

¹⁰⁶ For the sources see *RE* VII (1912) 439-461, esp. 446-447
and *DNP* 4 (1998) 730-731.

114-140.

a definition of their possible skills, let alone the works they made.¹⁰⁷ The paintings mentioned are figural representations, mostly simply referring to the occupant of the temple and the patron of its construction or restoration. He and other authors frequently stress the coherence between painting and context in the sense that the scenes depict battles fought by the patrons or areas conquered. Whether this is also true for the archaeological record will be discussed in the following chapters.

Generally speaking, the sources regarding Roman temples are more informative than those about Greek temples and other monuments. In Roman religious buildings we see almost exclusively scenes of battlegrounds, without any direct connection with the gods venerated in these temples. It is often not recorded whether the general had made a *votum* to a particular deity as thanksgiving for eventually winning the battle. However, a complete lack of connection seems rather implausible, especially since several relationships can be established from the cited examples. Unfortunately, it is impossible to describe the appearance of such decorations and their location within the temple (cella, pronaos, or portico?) is almost never defined in the sources. Holliday proposes a reconstruction of such paintings in the shape of friezes and as comparable monuments he suggests triumphal scenes on Etruscan cinerary urns and Roman commemorative reliefs. Following Claude Nicolet, he argues that the source of some elements is found in late fourth century BC Campania.¹⁰⁸ The fragment from Cumae might confirm this hypothesis, even if there are many unsolved questions regarding the block and its original context. The paintings from the Tomba François from Vulci, now in the Villa Albani in Rome, show an alternative for the composition's form: large juxtaposed scenes instead of friezes. We must keep in mind that all these examples of comparable scenes are much smaller than the walls of the temples and so they may give a false impression regarding the dimensions. The tendency, echoed in the literary descriptions, to represent the battle scenes in a cruel manner probably corresponds to Roman practice. Tonio Hölscher pointed out that these *Pathosformeln* stemmed from the Hellenistic world. Their introduction in Roman society partly took place by means of literary examples during the second century BC.¹⁰⁹

In the long passages from Vergil and Silius Italicus describing fictitious temples at Carthage and Liternum, we encounter the popular genre of *ekphrasis*, literary descriptions of works of art that emulate the real visual arts by evoking a suggestive image. Both poetic *ekphrasis* underline the acts of war. The reactions of the spectators, Aeneas and Hannibal, convey the impression that the martial elements of the scenes were rendered quite explicitly, both generals were moved by the images they saw; Aeneas reacted with grief and Hannibal meditated upon revenge. Various scholars emphasize the parallels and relationships of the two descriptions of images and in both cases the texts allude to a future victory by the Romans.¹¹⁰ Hannibal's rôle as a viewer, therefore, differs from that of Aeneas. Carthage has scenes which upset Aeneas, and the temple in Liternum stresses the superiority of the homeland in front of the enemy Hannibal. On the other hand, the actors are in different positions, Aeneas having fled and Hannibal acting as a glorious general.

Virgil's description leaves more to the imagination as he offers fewer details than Silius, in whose text the eye of the imaginary viewer wanders over the walls. For Virgil the reaction of Aeneas is more important – he might have thought of Odysseus' emotion at hearing Demodokos at the court of the Phaiaks in Homer's *Odyssey* 8. Silius' text is much more ekphrastic and matches the growing tradition in the first century AD. He really needs the images themselves to make his point. In a certain sense, his presentation is much more banal or flat than Virgil's evocation of the works of art in Carthage.

Concrete visual parallels for similar cruel Republican scenes can be seen in the large paintings from the Tomba François in Vulci. These representations from the second half of the fourth century BC show combat or war without pity or mercy. The Vulci iconography is not easy to interpret, particularly because of the intriguing mix of heterogeneous mythological stories and historical episodes. 'Ajax and Cassandra' and the 'Sacrifice of the

¹⁰⁸ Holliday 2002, 46, with a reference to fig. 14-18 (frieze); 58-59 (on sources of inspiration).

¹⁰⁹ Hölscher 1980, 354-355.

¹¹⁰ Most recently Leach 2000 and Marks 2003, 135-137.

Trojan captives' are connected with the Trojan cycle, whereas other scenes show family members of the Etruscan prince Macstarnas involved in conflicts with Rome. The Etruscan paintings apparently had been influenced by fifth and fourth century BC wall paintings from Greece and Magna Graecia.¹¹¹

The two prose texts provide examples of temples with cycles of images pertaining to the life of the inhabitant, the *heros* Orestes and the god Dionysos. The authors regard the complexes as part of their fictitious texts and would have described these and other monuments according to examples known from their own world. In both cases, the endeavours of the venerated persons enhance their prestige.

The literary sources on Republican temples discussed here mention almost exclusively scenes of war painted in temples to recall the triumphs of Roman generals. Virgil could have seen many of them in the archaic temples and possibly used them as sources of inspiration for his descriptions of the *Troianae pugnae*. During and after the time of Augustus, many Republican monuments were restructured and restored, often quite radically. Accordingly, it is much less likely that Silius, whose work dates to some one hundred years later, had seen such decorations. Instead, this poet would have had to rely on literary sources. Moreover, both poets could have been inspired by examples of the genre of the history painting and the *pictura triumphalis*, of which not a scrap of physical evidence has been preserved. During the triumphs colourful painted banners displaying the celebrated battles were carried around. The Column of Trajan even records such images, if we accept the supposition that the frieze shows a sequence of such banners.¹¹² Motifs of this kind apparently were no longer represented after the Republican period. According to the genre of the *pictura triumphalis*, both poetic renditions probably immortalise long cycles of commemorative paintings commissioned by victorious generals. In this sense the texts form an important source for archaeologists.

¹¹¹ The literature about these paintings is vast. See Holliday 2002, 65-74, fig. 29-35, where a plausible connection is made with Greek predecessors. Cf. the entries in *Apelles* 3 (1998) nos. 600-602; 4 (2001) nos. 528-531. Cf. the now

lost, but reconstructed, paintings on the Priest Sarcophagus from Tarquinia (Fleischer 2004).

¹¹² See Gauer 1977, 9-12, 78-86. On the depiction carried during the triumphs see Östenberg 2009, 256-261.

2 Paintings Found in Public Temples of the Greek world

The remains of painted decoration in Greek temples are very scarce and scattered across the Greek world. All belong to the category of grand public temples. This means that no coherent and multifaceted discussion of the original practice of temple decorations (except for sculptured and architectural decoration), is possible. I therefore briefly present the instances known to me.¹

The oldest example of painted decoration in Greek sanctuaries is the Temple of Poseidon in Isthmia, dating to the first half of the seventh century BC. The excavator Oscar Broneer found fragments of thin layers of plaster on which he distinguished partial representations of warriors and a big horse and meanders. They belonged to the figural decoration of the interior of the naos, where they occupied the middle and upper zones. The brick wall on the lower side had a revetment in the shape of stucco relief imitating limestone blocks, giving the impression that the temple was built out of costly limestone.²

A predecessor to the 560-550 Temple of Poseidon in Corinth was found during the American excavations in the 1970s. The cella of this building, similar to that at Isthmia, must have been decorated with murals since the excavator Henry S. Robinson reports *poros* blocks bearing remains of stucco layers. He recognises “rectangular



Fig. 1 Samos, Hekatompedos II, block with incisions, now in the local museum (photo M.J. Strazzulla).

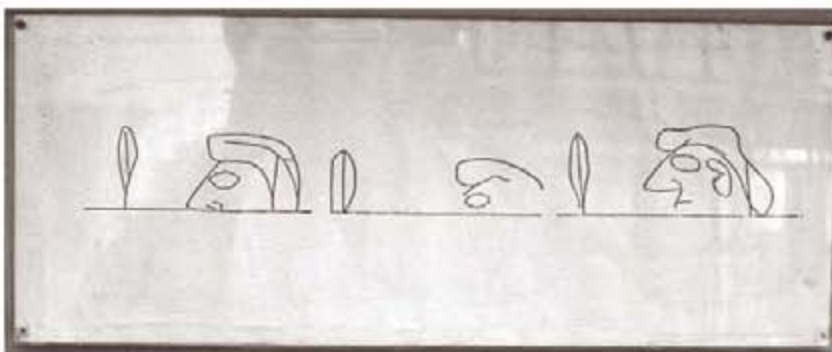


Fig. 2 Samos, Hekatompedos II, drawing of fig. 1, now in the local museum (photo M.J. Strazzulla).

¹ Cf. Introduction, note 7.

² Broneer 1971, 33-34, pl. A-D; Andreou 1989, cat. 126;

Hellmann 2002, 238, 255; *ThesCRA* IV (2005) 94 no. 37;

Marconi 2007, 3, fig. 1.

panels of solid color (dark red or black) separated by narrow bands of light buff color.” Existing traces of “decorative patterns” are insufficient to allow a reconstruction or interpretation.³

Brigitte Freyer-Schaunburg published a limestone block from the Hekatompedos II in the Sanctuary of Samos (fig. 1-2). On this block, part of a large orthostate, one can see three male heads turned in profile to the left with arrowheads in front of them. These figures are incised on the surface. Freyer-Schaunburg suggested that these are preparatory drawings for paintings and this explanation appears highly plausible. Her idea was followed up by Koch, who argued that the drawings give a good idea of monumental paintings in temples.⁴ Stylistically the figures can be dated to the second quarter of the seventh century. The bizarre paintings in the *pastas* of the sanctuary in Phlyai (see Chapter 1) can be explained in the same way. The colour scheme and composition cannot be reconstructed, but the painted terracotta metopes from Thermos and Kalydon from the same period may provide a means of comparison. In this case, few colours (red, black, white and yellow) were used and the contour lines were heavy, similar to those on contemporary vase paintings.⁵ These extraordinary architectural plaques are a good source for the understanding of early monumental mural decorations.⁶ The reason for the choice of the warriors cannot be deduced from a possible specific connection with Hera.

Recent work at Kalapodi has brought to light several strata of a temple whose first traces date back to the Mycenaean period. Wolf-Dieter Niemeier found orthostates at the northern wall of the cella and, over them, parts of a mudbrick wall adorned with inscribed lines and paint. These decorations are under restoration and belong to the early archaic phase of this sanctuary, probably the Manteion of Apollo of Abai described by Pausanias.⁷ The *Ritzlinien* are similar to the incisions on the block from Samos (figs. 1-2).

The first Temple of Artemis at Kalapodi in Phokis dates to the archaic period and is covered by the still visible remains of the subsequent temple that was built around 480 BC. As at Isthmia, this building was erected in brick and its walls were covered with a layer of plaster. On it was painted a pattern of blocks and, similar to the Isthmia temple, a certain degree of wealth is suggested, although stucco relief orthostates are lacking.⁸

On the island of Naxos there is a small shrine dedicated to Demeter, Kore and Apollo, first studied in the 1970s. Demeter, Kore and Apollo were *συννάοι θεοί* in this modest complex, representing darkness and light.⁹ A primitive early archaic hypaethral space was replaced around 520 BC by a marble almost square building with a pronaos and a naos in a rather peculiar shape. The order used is Ionian. The construction may probably be linked with Lygdamis, the tyrant of Naxos at the time. The walls of the naos, now partly reconstructed *in situ*, were made from small rough blocks, whereas in contrast the pronaos had shining white marble walls and columns as well as a marble roof, the first of this kind known in Greek architecture. The smoothed sidewalls were covered with a very fine marble stucco and partly painted. Fragments of red and beige decorations were found during the excavations.¹⁰

The Temple of Hephaistos and Athena Ergane, built in the middle of the fifth century on the *Kolonos Agoraios* in Athens, still shows remains of Christian frescos that cover a layer of stucco from the period of construc-

³ Robinson 1976, 248, fig. 10. On the temple pp. 239-252.

⁴ Freyer-Schaunburg 1974, 184-185 no. 103, pl. 77; Koch 1996, 9; Marconi 2007, 3. I owe the illustrations to M.-J. Struzzulla.

⁵ Koch 1996, 123-128, 131-170, figs. 43-69, 83-88 (Thermos), 128-130, figs. 70-82 (Kalydon). On the iconography of Thermos' metopes see also Colpo 2002 and Marconi 2007, 6-7.

⁶ Koch 1996, 170-173.

⁷ W.-D. Niemeier, Kalapodi, in Jahresbericht 2004 des DAI, Abteilung Athen, AA 2005, no. 2, 166 (“Über den vom Feuer teilweise zerrissenen Kalksteinorthostaten hatte die

Cellwand aus Lehmziegeln mit Stuckverputz bestanden, der teilweise mit Ritzlinien verziert, teilweise farbig bemalt war.”) -167. Cf. Pausanias 10.35.1-4. Some First-Style paintings were found nearby in a substructure in *opus caementicium* (p. 166), probably belonging to a later phase of the sanctuary.

⁸ Felsch 1980, 72-73; Andreou 1989, cat. 127.

⁹ Lambrinoudakis 2002, 388-389, figs. 8-9 (dedicatory inscriptions); *ThesCRA* IV (2005) 91 no. 17.

¹⁰ Lambrinoudakis 2002, 392: “mit Marmorstuck seidenhaft verputzt und z.T. farbig gefaßt.”

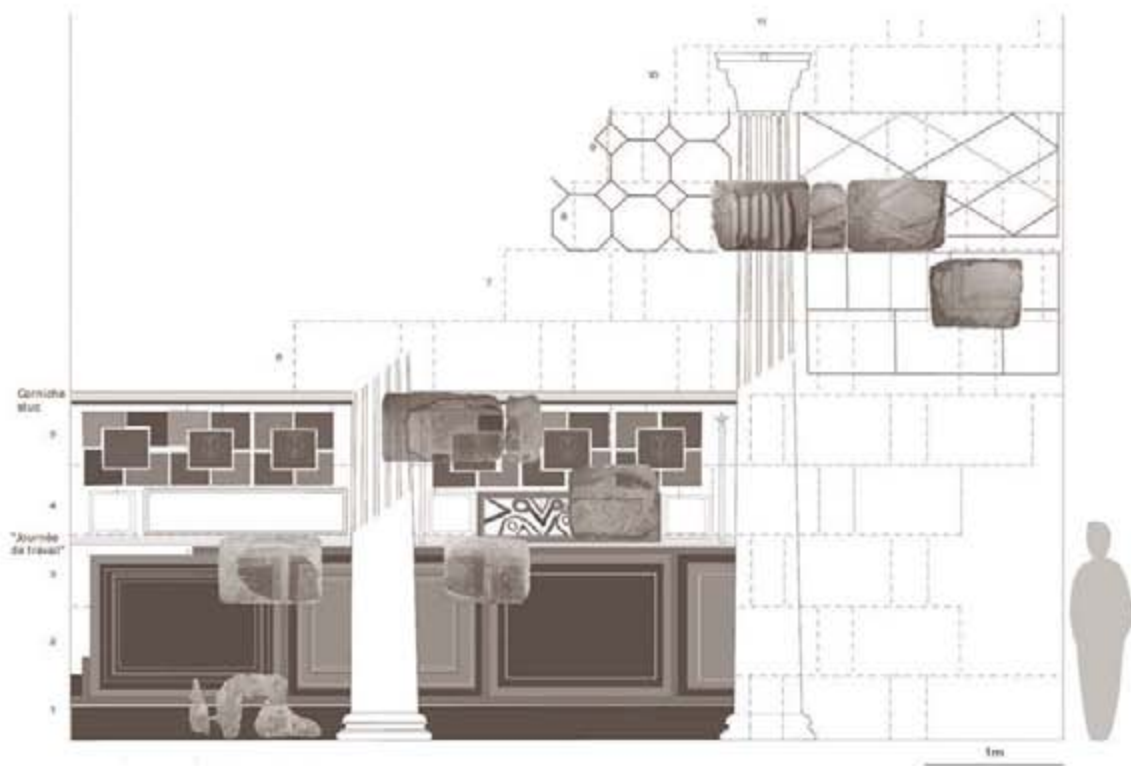


Fig. 3 Gerasa, Temple, reconstruction of the decoration by H. Eristov. For a colour version of this figure, see page 237.

tion. William Dinsmoor has argued with valid reasons that the “stippled” walls were covered with paintings. Some traces of red seem to have been found. Because of a former connection to the building with the Theseion (see *supra* p. 11-12), previous scholars had (vainly) hoped to find traces of the famous paintings we now only know from the ancient sources.¹¹

The marble Temple of Athena Lindia in Lindos on Rhodes was constructed in the years 350-342. Some traces of stucco were found on the outer walls of the cella and the excavator, Ejnar Dyggve, argues that the heavily weathered inner walls had been covered in the same manner. Colour traces, however, have not been observed, let alone figural motifs.¹²

The Hieron of the Sanctuary of the Kabeiroi or Megaloi Theoi on Samothrace was embellished with paintings in c. 325 BC. Stucco relief, again, suggests the presence of a marble wall. In the lower zone of this decoration one would have seen a series of blue to black orthostates, above them ran the pattern of an isodome masonry work in red and on top there was a fake Doric portico with half columns and capitals in stucco relief. This decoration was much more elaborate than that in archaic temples mentioned and has been correctly identified as an important early element in the development of the structural style, well-known in the Pompeian variant of the First Style.¹³

¹¹ Dinsmoor 1941, 94-104. Dinsmoor summarises previous scholarship. His conclusions were debated by Oscar Broneer in *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 251-253, to which Dinsmoor retorted in the same *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 364-366. Dinsmoor's ideas were supported by Gorham Ph. Stevens in *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 158-164.

¹² Dyggve 1960, 94-95, pl. IV, D.

¹³ Andreou 1989, cat. 166; Hellmann 2002, 247, fig. 338. Cf. the fundamental publication of Lehmann 1969, 138-142, 204-212, pl. LVII, XCIV, CIV-CVI. Hellmann 2002, 246 uses the apt expression “Style de grand appareil”. Hellenistic parallels for the false colonnade are the interior of the Mausoleum in Halikarnassos and the House of the Comedians in Delos (Hellmann 2002, 257, fig. 341). For Italic examples see p. 51, 57.

The last Greek monument to be discussed in this chapter dates to the late second century BC, the *heroon* for a certain Leon ‘the new Herakles’ at Kalydon. Again, the decoration of the temple consists of an imitation of limestone or marble blocks, made from grained marble, which is combined with real limestone blocks of the same dimensions and composition. The excavator Dyggve reports the application of Pompeian red.¹⁴

Some examples from the Hellenistic Near East can be added to the dossier of Greek temples.

At Gerasa (modern Jarash in Jordan) French archaeologists explored the remains of a temple dedicated to Zeus Olympios by Theon in AD 69/70. Some of the lower blocks and a great number of other blocks used as backfill in its base appeared to have belonged to an older monument, now labelled “Hellenistic Naos”, which could be reconstructed because most architectural elements were still there. Some blocks contain traces of painting, partly with elements added in stucco relief. The reconstruction presented by Hélène Eristov shows how the walls were covered with a series of painted orthostates in various colours in front of which was added a row of columns with flutings indicated in stucco relief (fig. 3).¹⁵ Three rows of isodome blocks and panels with lozenges were added above the orthostates, the complete height might have been some 5.5 metres. The decoration is in the fashion of the First Style and has been dated to the first half of the first century BC. As far as I know, the naos is the only example of painted decoration applied on well-cut limestone blocks which imitate marble blocks. Apparently the decorators followed the taste of the colourful decorations of their era. As a matter of fact, the murals are similar to those in the royal palace of Masada.¹⁶

At Nea Paphos (Cyprus) the second and first century BC temples had colourful painted decorations, as is argued by Jolanta Młynarczyk.¹⁷ Her essay on this topic, however, does not provide documentation of the finds themselves and succinctly informs us in its summary that the floors possessed a mosaic or marble pavement, whilst the walls had imitations of marble incrustations. The painted elements would have been combined with architectonic ornaments in sandstone. The Temple of Aphrodite in Morphou had real marble plates in the dado and painted panels in the main zone.¹⁸ This monument is rather similar to the shrine in Gerasa, though on a more modest level.

The Hellenistic complex of the Asklepieion in Kos is entirely executed in marble. Some additional buildings from the Roman period are in other materials. The remains of a structure with a series of square rooms were found on the lower terrace. At the time of excavation, at the beginning of the early twentieth century, mural paintings could be seen. These are panel paintings, some with vignettes showing birds against a white background. The simplicity of the decorations does not permit a firm dating, but Rudolf Herzog’s attribution to the Flavian period may rely on other data rather than stylistic analysis alone. The decorations are clearly domestic in character and endorse the function of the rooms as *hospitium* or *katagogion*.¹⁹

In sum, the archaeological dossier presented here from the Greek world barely corresponds with the cases we encounter in the literary sources because there is little material evidence for figural elements. As a rule, the temples found show a display of precious materials, especially marble, and fine techniques.

¹⁴ Andreou 1989, cat. 128; Dyggve 1934, 27-28, 47-48, pl. I-II, fig. 21. For real blocks *ibid.* 336 fig. 40.

¹⁵ Eristov and Seigne 2002. Here the Hellenistic shrine is mistakenly attributed to Theon, apparently by the periodical’s editors and not by the authors, according to Mme Eristov (pers. comm.); Eristov and Seigne 2003, esp. 276-284, figs. 8-14; S. Rozenberg in Bragantini 2010, 366 (parallels in the Near East).

¹⁶ Foerster 1995, 1-79 and Rozenberg 2008, 343-355, figs. 375-413.

¹⁷ Młynarczyk 1990.

¹⁸ Młynarczyk 1990, with a reference to Nikolaou 1963, 16, fig. 5.

¹⁹ Herzog 1932, 70-71, pls. 36, 56 (bottom). On dating see p. 74.

3 Paintings Found in Public Temples in Roman Italy

REPUBLICAN AND IMPERIAL TEMPLES IN ROME

At the end of the Republic, the city of Rome possessed a great number of old temples constructed in tuff, timber framing and mud brick. As a rule, they must have had wall paintings that covered the roughly constructed walls, thereby forming an important aspect of the decoration. The use of these traditional building materials continued until the beginning of the first century AD, although by then new techniques were increasingly practiced. Most monuments discussed in this section belong to the group of public monuments financed by the city's prestigious citizens.

Gradually, constructions in brickwork grew in number and volume and their walls also had to be covered with stucco work or paintings. Furthermore, covering temples with marble became a booming business, the first columns and capitals in this material having been introduced in the middle of the second century BC. Although at first these elements were seen as manifestations of un-Roman luxury, they had now become standard materials for religious and public monuments alike. Even the walls were now composed of blocks of marble.¹ The temples of Portunus and Hercules - Olivarius or Victor - on the Forum Boarium are clear examples of this 'modern' combination of materials and techniques. The exterior sides of the walls of these late second century BC shrines are covered with a white stucco relief. In the Temple of Portunus the suggestion of marble orthostates is rendered in shallow relief, combined with colourful panels. The cella had a floor in *opus signinum*.² The round cella of the Temple of Hercules had stucco slabs imitating rectangular marble blocks, as was the practice in the First Style. In the latter monument the first Corinthian capitals and columns of Pentelic marble in Rome are recorded, whereas the floor is made of travertine blocks.³ Marble would remain a precious material in Roman architecture and, therefore, was rarely covered with stucco.⁴ For this reason the marble temples will not be discussed in this study.

A shrine for Jupiter on Tiber Island dates to the early second century BC. Its scant remains were explored in the 1990s by Paola di Manzano and Roberto Giustini. They report finding decoration in the interior of the

¹ See Maischberger 1997, 17-18. On the use of stucco in tuff, travertine and marble temples see Campisi 1987, esp. 86-87.

² See Adam 1994, 4: the interior has no ancient remains, except the floor. On the stucco esp. p. 62-63.

³ Rakob and Heilmeyer 1973, Beilage 4; Campisi 1987, 73, 77; Pensabene 2007, 13. F. Coarelli, *LTUR* III (1996) 19-20 and 22-23 discusses the alternative dedications of this round temple, which are Hercules Olivarius and Hercules Victor. Doubt exists because the location of Porta Trigemina is unknown. Cf. Mattern 2000, 148. A similar decoration is known from the famous round Temple of Vesta in Tivoli (see Campisi 1987, 81 and *passim*). Campisi 1987 lists various

monuments with stuccoed architectural elements. We may add the First Style fragments found in the Temple of the Fortuna Huisce Diei on Largo Argentina. This round building was erected after a vow by Quintus Lutatius Catulus in 101 BC (Caputo 1990-1991, 258-259).

⁴ Ovid speaks in his *Tristia* 3.1.60, of *intonsi candida templa dei* as to the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine. Verg., *Aeneid* 8.720, mentions *niveo candentis limine Phoebi*, which refers to the same building. The colours must have been none but those of the marbles. On the Forum Augustum there was a wall revetment of painted marble slabs (cf. p. 2 with note 6). An exception is the temple in Gerasa (see Chapter 2).

cella: a red dado with indications of oblong panels above that should be understood as stuccoed imitations of standing blocks in various colours. As there is an inscription mentioning a restoration of the mosaic floor from the end of the second century, the decorative ensemble must be older.⁵

The temple of Veiovis discovered in the 1930s under the Palazzo Senatorio on the Capitol by Antonio Maria Colini showed remains of the original pavement and a stucco revetment on the travertine blocks of the lower parts of the walls. Unfortunately these finds were not well documented at the time of the excavation. These lower sections of the building date from 192 BC, whereas the higher zones were restored under the Flavian emperors.⁶

A Danish team of excavators discovered traces of interior decoration in the Temple of Castor and Pollux on the Forum Romanum, built by Lucius Caecilius Metellus Dalmaticus after 117 BC. The stucco fragments belong to wall and ceiling decorations executed in the First Style.⁷ The pavement consisted of a mosaic showing lozenges in perspective, a motif we know from the temples of Jupiter and Apollo in Pompeii (see *infra*). After a fire in 14 or 9 BC this construction was replaced by a new building in marble and all these decorative items were lost.

In the late first century BC, Lucius Cornificius carried out large restoration works in the oldest and most important temple of Diana in Rome, situated on the Aventine and, according to tradition, founded by Servius Tullius. Charlotte Schreiter was able to locate it on the basis of a fragment from the *Forma Urbis Romae*. Drawings by Giovannantonio Dosio from the 1560s show elements of the stucco decorations on the exterior walls. On the basis of a comparison of this testimony with other sources, Schreiter could establish that the temple was a building in traditional tuff blocks, restored in 35 BC or some years after at the request of the victorious admiral Cornificius. This restoration was apparently done in an older and more traditional style, but elements of the wall decoration are stylistically Augustan.⁸ The figural motifs documented by Dosio include battle scenes and Schreiter cautiously proposes interpreting them as Homeric battles, serving as imitations of Greek marble reliefs. The author thinks that the patron had purposefully chosen the older style and techniques in order to enhance the antiquity and venerability of the shrine, an approach which fitted the restoration politics of that period extremely well.

A small shrine for Fons or Fontus was explored on the southeastern slopes of the Janiculum, under the present-day Ministry of Education. An inscription naming the dedicators Publius Pontius Eros and Gaius Veratius Fortunatus places the restoration of the temple in AD 70. The rectangular room unearthed and subsequently destroyed had walls covered with stucco and paint.⁹

New and surprising finds continue to be made thoroughly explored sites like the Capitol. Some years ago a small temple was discovered in a sort of cupboard in the Palazzo Senatorio. One room, labelled B, still has paintings on the lower parts of the original walls, including a red dado over which there is a series of yellow panels with garlands and other ornaments. The excavator, Francesco Paolo Arata, correctly compares these murals with paintings in Hadrianic period houses in Ostia. The decorations do not differ at all from frescoes in the private

⁵ CIL I² 990. P. di Manzano and R. Giustini, *LTUR* V (1999) 270. A very short report about new research is given in *RendPontAc* 71 (2001) XXIII. In *RendPontAc* 71 (2001) 130, P. di Manzano et al. report that the existence of a sanctuary is not as sure as they argued previously.

⁶ Colini 1940, 19; Colini 1942, 8 (lisenés), 13-14 (old pavement), 50-51 (chronology); cf. M. Albertoni, *LTUR* V (1999) 99-100.

⁷ P.G. Bilde and K. Sej, The Stucco, in Nielsen and Poulsen

1992, 188-220; cf. I. Nielsen, *LTUR* I (1993) 242-245, esp. 243-244.

⁸ Schreiter 2000, 20 (old-fashioned building), 24-30, fig. 11 (stucco); cf. L. Venditelli, *LTUR* II (1995) 11-13. I thank Helke Kammerer-Grothaus for the reference to Schreiter's essay.

⁹ G. Mancini, NSA 1914, 362-363 reports the presence of wall paintings but does not describe or illustrate them; L. Cantarelli, *BCAR* 43 (1915) 52-53 records that the walls were whitewashed; cf. J. Aronen, *LTUR* II (1995) 256.

sphere and they lack any allusion to the sacred function of the building. Arata tentatively identified the small complex as the Temple of Jupiter Conservator founded by Domitian.¹⁰

At the brink of the new era, in the time of Augustus, we see various examples of ‘conservative’ constructions in tuff. Because of its stucco outer decoration, the Augustan renovation of the early second-century Temple of Cybele on the Palatine deserves mention: the elements in tuff should not be considered as mere sentimental expressions of a revival or symbols of the Augustan *pietas*, but they reflect the tradition, still followed at that time, of using ‘old’ materials in cult buildings.¹¹

REPUBLICAN TEMPLES IN ITALY

Some of the numerous indigenous towns in Italy, which mostly came under Roman influence from the fourth century BC onwards, have remains of ancient temples with interesting painted decorations. According to the fashion of the era, many cellae were decorated with murals in the First or early Second Style, but the remains usually are scant. One might ask whether these styles came from Rome and should be seen as a reference to the new powers or, alternatively, if we are dealing with a general development in Italy. It is a practice that had its roots in the eastern part of the Mediterranean and corresponds to the Hellenisation of the Italian peninsula. The ‘high’ arts of public and sacred architecture had the potential to underline the prestige of the local elites and should not be seen as the expression of the power of the new rulers. The latter assumption surfaces mostly in the modern literature, which views the new modes of decoration as part of the new political ideology.¹² The complexes discussed below stand out for their prestige and are partly expressions of self-pride of the enriched towns in the peninsula and partly expressions of emulating the absolute new great centre of power that was Rome. These public buildings were established on remarkable spots within or outside the communities and served as landmarks.

We possess very scant remains of temples in Italy that belong to non-Roman or non-Romanised peoples and towns. The Greek colony of Cumae is known for several temples, including that of Apollo admired by Aeneas (see Chapter 1). Under the Capitulum on the forum of this town there is evidence of various predecessors, all radically destroyed at moments of changes in power. As to the Samnite era (from 421 BC), excavations brought to light fragments of the opulent decoration in stone and terracotta belonging to ‘Temple A’ destroyed by fire, either intentionally or by accident. In both cases, the terrain was flattened to be occupied by the large so-called Capitulum from the early third century BC. Temple A is dated to 340-320 BC.¹³ A Doric frieze in tuff shows a Centauromachy painted on a layer of white stucco. Each metope contains either a moving Lapith or a Centaur separated by blue-coloured triglyphs. Landscapes scenes are visible on some blocks. The figures have dark red outlines and are rendered in soft colours, mainly red and blue, so that they look rather naturalistic. The decoration is similar to that on the block mentioned in Chapter 1 (p. 20-21) and gives us the hitherto only example of paintings outside a funerary context in Campania. The architectural terracottas have different, harder colours

¹⁰ Arata 1997, esp. 138-139, figs. 21-23; 152-153. Cf. C. Reusser, *LTUR* III (1996) 131-132 (not yet located!). Versluys 2004, 437 uses the building as a possible example of a small Egyptian shrine on the Capitol. On possible Isis shrines on the Capitol see Coarelli 2009, 222-223.

¹¹ Mattern 2000. Mattern 1999, 24-26 gives examples of the use of stucco and argues that the white stucco was chosen for the strong contrast with the dark colour of the stone. But this colour was ubiquitous on architectural elements, whether stuccoed or painted. Cf. Campisi 1987.

¹² The debate about this topic is very vast. I refer to Dench

2005 and Wallace-Hadrill 2008, esp. Chapter 3. On the hierarchy of sanctuaries in central Italy, see Letta 1992. Technical innovations could form a factor in this process, e.g. in (private) baths: de Haan 2010, sections I.4.4 and I.5.

¹³ F. Zevi and C. Rescigno in Zevi 2008, I, 247-263; C. Rescigno in Bragantini 2010, 15-28. On the history and the chronology of the town see i.a. B. D’Agostino and C. Gasparri in the same volume (Zevi 2008, I, 76-87). On the Samnites and Rome A. Mele (Zevi 2008, I, 31-52). The interpretation of the later building as a Capitulum is not taken for granted, see Stek 2009, Chapter 2.

– red, black and yellow. In contrast, three-dimensional figures in terracotta belonging to the pediments or acroteria are rendered in the natural colours of the metopes. They include heads and body parts of male and female figures, a horse and the wheel of a chariot. Their state is too fragmentary to reconstruct and interpret them, but Fausto Zevi and Carlo Rescigno tentatively connect them with the Dioscuri, possibly venerated in this shrine.

The following two instances differ entirely from the others, being subterranean shrines. The first is a *nymphaeum* at Caere/Cerveteri from the second quarter of the third century BC. This complex structure, with corridors and various rooms, possesses one large central room painted white. A niche in the northern wall has badly preserved paintings of two palm trees on the side walls and two other trees or fans on the wall piece above the entrance. An inscription tells us that the complex was founded by *C. Genucio(s) Clousino(s) praitor*. He can be identified with a high degree of plausibility as the consul who governed between 276 and 270 BC. The trees seem to refer to the *trias delica*, Leto, Artemis, and Apollo, who were venerated at Caere from the late-Classical period onwards. Mauro Cristofani and Gian Luca Gregori propose a connection to the grotto's peculiarity, i.e. having fresh water, with the rites of preparing brides for marriage. Hence, the big room would be a sort of *balaneion*.¹⁴ The paintings can be compared to the contemporary tomb paintings in Alexandria. Since graffiti from the period of Caracalla, one precisely dated to AD 208, have been found, it has been suggested that the building was either continually used¹⁵ or reused around 200. It is a matter of discussion whether in that period Isis had gained dominance, despite inscriptions referring to her *Rosalia* festival. It is also unclear whether the underground room had become a Mithraeum.¹⁶ I think that the latter suggestion cannot be supported because neither inscriptions nor decorative elements refer to Mithras.

The second subterranean complex is a *sacellum* within a hypogeum in Syracuse used in the third and second centuries BC as a workshop by potters. In the late Imperial period these corridors and rooms would be used as catacombs by Christians. The *sacellum* was probably dedicated to various gods worshipped by the potters and has very simple depictions in niches. The north wall has two superposed niches each containing a sort of aedicula with single gods, unfortunately badly preserved and not identifiable. Between them is a scene of drinkers around a dish with cups. A niche in the western wall of the trapezoidal room showed a man standing next to a tree and what seems to be the base of an altar. The niche in the eastern wall has two figures, each with a Greek label. On the back wall a man stands above a turreted city wall, resting his right foot on the prow of a ship, Ζεύς Πέλωρος is added. A seated figure on his left holds a rudder and is called Πορθμός. Guido Agnelli thinks that they represent regional coupled gods. As to the dating, Agnelli suggests the period in which the potters were active. The linear depictions do not betray a peculiar style, while the letters are similar to those used in this period.¹⁷ The room can be seen as a sort of private domestic shrine for the workmen and the various gods might even correspond with individual potters' beliefs.

Now we may turn to the category of monumental temples. The *porticus triplex* of the Sanctuary of Aesculapius at Fregellae was decorated with impressive paintings in the First Style (fig. 4). There was a richly composed wall with a red plinth, a yellow dado and over them a row of orthostates that were partly blue. Above these ran two tiers of yellow and red isodome blocks, a frieze in white and blue and a 'gallery' with pilasters framing blue panels. The ensemble could be dated to the second quarter of the second century BC, i.e. the same time as the erection of the rich

¹⁴ Cristofani and Gregori 1987, esp. 3-4, 9-11, figs. 9-11. The floor was covered with a layer of *opus signinum* (fig. 12).

¹⁵ G.L. Gregori in Cristofani and Gregori 1987, 12.

¹⁶ M.A. Rizzo, *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica ed Orientale. Secondo Supplemento II* (1994) 105, fig. 130.

¹⁷ Agnello 1963.

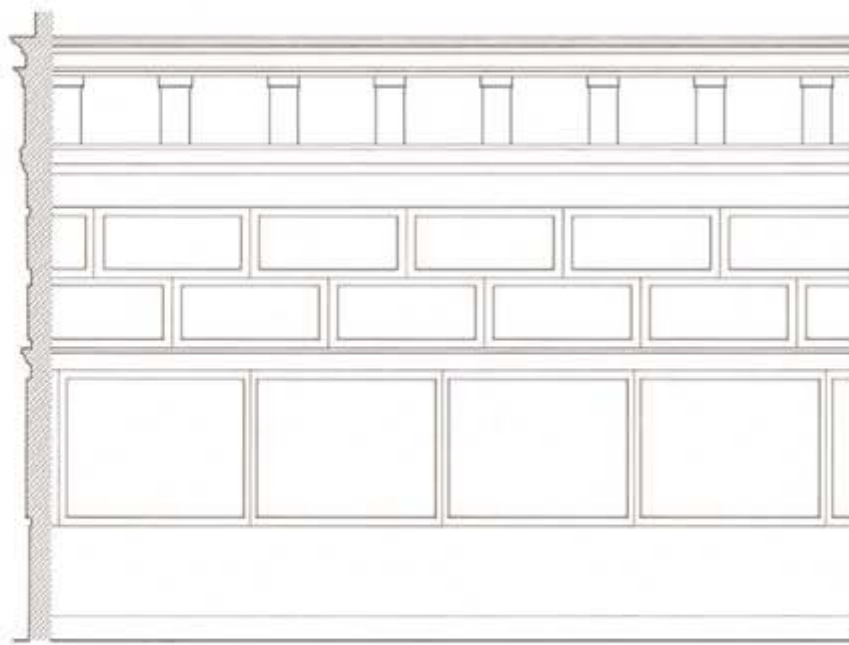


Fig. 4 Fregellae, reconstruction of the First-Style paintings in the *porticus triplex* (from Coarelli 1986, pl. XXXVIII).

architecture. Again, a connection with the eastern Mediterranean has been suggested by Coarelli and his colleagues.¹⁸

Research carried out by Fulvia Donati and Fernanda Cavari on the acropolis of Populonia in 2000-2003 resulted in the discovery of extensive parts of a decorated room, possibly located in a portico, pertaining to a Republican temple. A plinth and a series of horizontal blocks carry high orthostates in the middle zone (fig. 5).¹⁹ This ensemble is crowned by a cornice in stucco with consoles. In the upper zone one sees a sort of simulated gallery of some 120 to 140 cm, with columns and the intercolumniations filled with small square blocks.²⁰ The capitals of the *finto porticato* are Ionic and Corinthian. The pavement was laid in *opus tessellatum* with an emblem in *opus sectile* showing lozenges in perspective. The excavators presume that all these decorative motifs had been brought to Populonia from Mediterranean sites like Delos, as the Etruscan city maintained active relationships with this island and other places like Knidos, Eretria, and Priene. The complex might have been decorated at the end of the second century BC, in any case not much later, as Sulla stopped the construction activities during the wars with Marius. The Italian scholars point to similar decorations at Fregellae, Praeneste and Volterra. In what follows, I deal with the latter two briefly.

¹⁸ M. Caputo, La decorazione parietale di primo stile, in Coarelli 1986, 65-75, pl. XXXVIII-XLIII; Coarelli 1987, 23-33; Caputo 1990-1991, 220-224, fig. 1, pl. I. Marinella Caputo and Coarelli (1986, 8-9) suggest Kos and Rhodes (see here Chapter 2, p. 45). Caputo (1986, 75) finishes her analysis with the following remark that undeservedly singles out the religious character of the paintings: “La vivacità contenuta della parete e l’uniformità del pavimento del portico ben si adattano all’ambiente religioso che decoravano, diverse nelle esigenze decorative delle abitazioni private.” Some fragments were brought to the museum of Ceprano.

¹⁹ Cavari and Donati 2002; Cavari and Donati 2004.

²⁰ Cavari and Donati 2004, 97 fig. 3 gives a suggestive reconstruction based on a decorative system in the House of the Faun in Pompeii (=PPM 5 (1994) fig. 9a-c). See also F. Donati, F. Cavari, D. Bubba, L’acropoli di Populonia: “Le logge”, decorazioni parietali e pavimentali, in G. Bartoloni, ed., *Populonia. scavi e ricerche dal 1998 al 2004*, Rome 2005, 72-74; F. Cavari, Un ambiente di I stile dall’acropoli di Populonia (saggio III). I rinvenimenti della campagna del 2004, *Materiali per Populonia 5*, Pisa 2006, 207-233. The finds had also been presented during the ninth International Congress for ancient wall painting (Zaragoza, September 2004).



Fig. 5 Populonia, reconstruction (drawing M.C. Panerai, courtesy F. Donati).

The gigantic sanctuary in Praeneste (modern Palestrina) dedicated to Fortuna Primigenia unfortunately has yielded little in the way of painted decorations. On the terrace under the upper plateau with the round temple there are scarce remains of a decoration of the First Style in the form of stuccoed red, green and yellow blocks over a decoration of stripes that might suggest alabaster slabs. These decorations are found in several rooms of the *rampe porticate*.²¹ In one of them, this old decoration was covered by a new decoration in white, with painted blocks, framed in red, green and yellow or, again, by a set of stripes. This monochrome painting served to suggest walls in white marble, the material that was becoming increasingly popular in Rome (see above). As to dating, the oldest paintings are dated by the excavators to the middle or the second half of the second century BC, whereas Attilio Degraasi proposed the last decades of that century for the second phase on the basis of inscrip-

²¹ Fasolo and Gullini 1953, 80-83, fig. 116-120 (the last figure gives a reconstruction in colour); Caputo 1990-1991,

228-231, fig. 3. On the sanctuary see Coarelli 1987, 35-84; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 106-116.

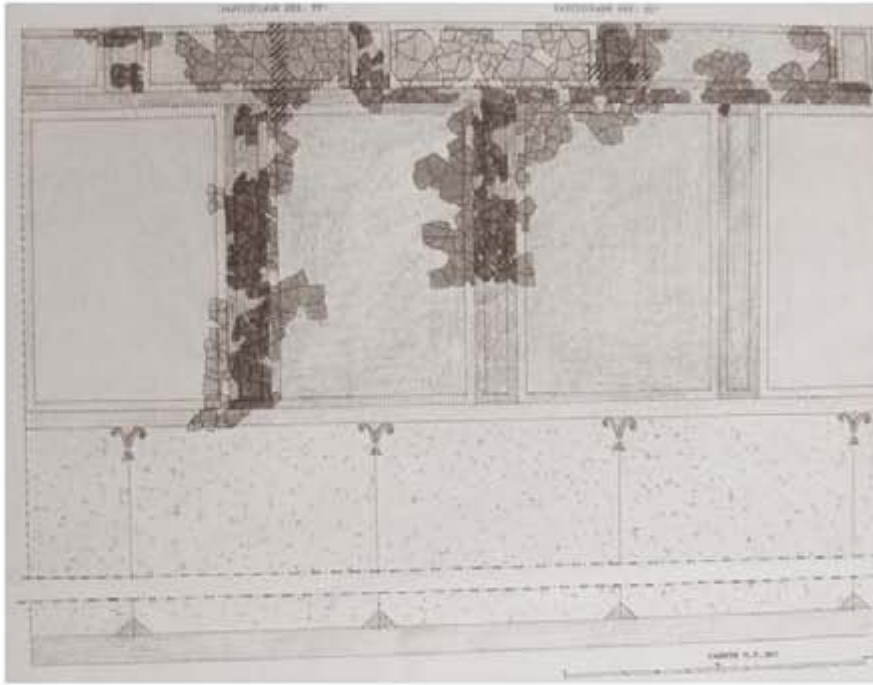


Fig. 6 Volterra, reconstruction (from Bonamici 1997, pl. VII).

tions, i.e. shortly before Sulla.²² As a whole, this fascinating complex can be seen as the expression of local pride and prestige. The monumental remains combine regional aspects (like technique) and Hellenistic features in a wealthy monument that reflected Praeneste's increasing opulence. Thanks to military activities and commerce the town had grown and its inhabitants were going abroad, bringing ideas from the eastern Mediterranean.²³

The temple on the Acropolis of Volterra has its roots in the Orientalising period. Here we must look at the stucco fragments in the First Style found during recent excavations (fig. 6).²⁴ The fragments of relief-imitating blocks were unearthed in the debris of a small room, a mass of material put together probably as the consequence of a sack in the time of Sulla. The excavator Marisa Bonamici could reconstruct the following scheme: a black plinth followed by a white dado with thin candelabra, separated by a fascia from the main zone composed of orthostates. Black vertical bands separate green, yellow and red 'blocks', whereas the upper zone contains oblong blocks of the same colours (in the reconstruction there is only a single tier). Bonamici considers the stuccoes an expression of an international *koine* which reached Volterra via Rome from the eastern part of the Mediterranean. This means that she follows a model similar to that of Donati and Cavari.

In the 'Piccolo Tempio' at Terracina traces have been found of stucco revetment of the walls, apparently belonging to a First-Style decoration in the four rooms that belong to the substructions of the temple. precious marble powder was used for the various strata of wall plaster. Giuseppe Lugli saw tiers of red and yellow

²² Fasolo and Gullini 1953, 306-307; Degraasi 1969, 112-127. Some floors in *opus signinum* belong to it. The overpaintings are not discussed in detail but the dates are plausible if the complex is dated to the period of Sulla. However, the few traces discernible in Fasolo and Gullini 1953, figs. 116-117 do not allow for a precise dating. See the sound analysis by

Lauter 1979, 390-415 (with references to stucco decoration p. 411 with note 69, and 414).

²³ Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 106-116.

²⁴ Bonamici 2003, 82-83, 155-160, pl. G-H. A more detailed discussion in Bonamici 1997.



Fig. 7 Nemi, Temple of Diana (photo B.D. Rous). For a colour version of this figure, see page 237.

blocks.²⁵ At the end of the nineteenth century, Ferdinando Borsari described columns with Corinthian capitals in stucco - a description substantiated by a photo published by Fasolo and Gullini.²⁶ This means that one room had a false colonnade in the upper part of the wall like those we know from Volterra and Populonia. The other room contains orthostates similar to those in the Temple of Jupiter at Pompeii (*infra*, with figs 21-22). The construction of the complex has been placed in the same context of restoration works at the Temple of Jupiter Anxur on Terracina's acropolis around 144 BC, probably by Servius Sulpicius Galba. The venerated god or goddess is not known for sure, but Feronia is a likely candidate.²⁷

To this group of the oldest known mural decorations in Italic temples we must add fragments found in 1901 in the Temple of Diana on top of the acropolis of Norba. The first publication unfortunately lacks a description of the paintings, but describes most extensively pieces of the temple's terracotta revetment dating from the late second century BC. There are no recent publications to inform us more completely about these traces of decoration.²⁸

²⁵ Lugli 1926, 165, fig. 11: "Soltanto l'intonaco, talvolta a due e perfino a tre strati, che riveste i vani interni delle arcuazioni, è compattissimo e impastato con calce fina e polvere di marmo, ripartito a riquadri, leggermente in rilievo, per imitare la costruzione isodoma secondo il primo stile pompeiano. I riquadri sono anche dipinti, come si può vedere meglio nella stanza A, dove le quattro fasce più alte (cm. 25) sono colorate in giallo e la quinta più piccola (cm. 15) è in rosso, mentre i listelli intermedi (cm. 4 1/2) sono rossi, azzurri e verdastri." Cf. Borsari 1894, 104. See also Fasolo and Gullini 1953, 328-331, fig. 451-452; Coarelli 1987, 115; Caputo 1990-1991, 225-227, fig. 2, pls. II-IV. The base of the cult statue in the

great temple was also covered with stucco (Lugli 1926, 174-175, fig. 17 - no traces to be seen!).

²⁶ Borsari 1894, 104; Fasolo and Gullini 1953, fig. 451-452. Caputo 1990-1991 describes rooms A and B and does not mention this colonnade.

²⁷ Coarelli 1987, 121-138. Fasolo and Gullini 1953, 331 date the murals to the turn of the third to second century BC, which must be too early, as is correctly observed by Caputo 1990-1991, 227.

²⁸ Savignoni and Mengarelli 1901, 526-527 (mosaic floor, stucco, terracotta decorations). Briefly mentioned by Glinister (2000, 56; I owe this reference to Marijke Gnade).

Fig. 8 Nemi, Temple of Diana (photo B.D. Rous). For a colour version of this figure, see page 237.



The Temple of Diana in Nemi possessed a portico whose columns corresponded with painted columns on the rear walls. The real ones were red and had blue- and white-painted cornices. Only some traces of the painted ones survive, namely heavily-shaped bases with white paint on a red background (fig. 7). This phase belongs to the early first century BC and the architectural elements match those of the early Second Style. Apparently the patrons wanted to enhance the venerability of the sanctuary not only with columns and statues, but also with paintings. The complex underwent an extensive restoration and partial reconstruction in the time of Hadrian (fig. 8); some of the portico's columns were substituted by new ones.²⁹

All these temples were made more prestigious by the inhabitants of the towns. This process is a mix of Hellenization and display of local pride, as described above for Praeneste. It is, therefore, not necessary to pinpoint a single example, as has been done by various scholars (with reference to Kos or Delos, for instance), but the painted decorations tally with a *koine* developed all over the Mediterranean during the third and second centuries BC. Neither is it necessary to see Rome as the driving force behind these movements.

Rome did the same as the other Italic towns, albeit on a much larger scale that would, in the end, procure her the first place during the course of this period. In particular, many cities in the Abruzzo and the adjacent coastal zone were drawn into the Roman influence after the Social War. With respect to the decoration of some temples, a continuation of a Hellenistic tradition can be observed, but the architectural enclosures should be seen as the consequence of the political changes and dated to the period around 89, namely immediately before the Social War. The plans of some buildings show the three cellae of the *Trias Capitolina*, while the monumentalisation of shrines in the countryside is another innovative element of the period before the Social War. In contrast, the paintings of the Second Style clearly belong to the phase after the Social War.³⁰

An example of this process is provided by the two second century BC temples at Schiavi d'Abruzzo, where the excavators encountered modifications made before and after 89, as well as elements constructed *ex novo* after the Social War which significantly changed the architecture and the floors. Remains of red paint found in the small eastern temple are too scanty to allow for a thorough analysis, let alone a reconstruction. An inscrip-

²⁹ Ghini 2000. There were many statues (*ibid.* contribution of P.G. Bilde and M. Moltesen, p. 93-119). I owe this reference to Benjamin Rous.

³⁰ This idea was suggested to me by Tesse Stek (cf. Stek 2009). The 'Romanisation' of such temples is problematic; cf. here above p. 49.



Fig. 9 Sulmona, paintings on the north and east walls of the cella of the Hercules Temple, around 80-70 BC (Van Wouterghem 1989, pl. IV, with permission of the author). For a colour version of this figure, see page 238.

tion in the floor commemorates the patron, a certain C. Paapiis Mitileis.³¹ The deity venerated here is not known. No traces of painted decoration are preserved in the other temple.

This process of monumentalisation, connected with wealth, ethnic identities and new Roman construction, can also clearly be observed at Sulmona, the birthplace of Ovid. Impressive remains of a mural decoration from the middle of the first century BC have been preserved in a small building on top of the temple terrace dedicated to Hercules Curinus.³² The almost square shrine contains, in a restored form, the imitation of a marble incrustation over a black dado on the back wall (north) and right side wall (east) (fig. 9). The two other walls are covered with an entirely different painting in the lower section, consisting of a red dado and large white panels framed by tiny lines and enclosed on top by a yellow band between red lines (fig. 10). The top decoration is unclear. The combination of the two wall systems divided over two walls is quite jarring to the eye. There does not exist a parallel of such juxtaposition. The rather succinct publications on the building are of no help in re-establishing the original scenario and - what is worse - do not present the remains as encountered by the excavators so as to make a comparison with the actual reconstruction feasible. One might explain the differences between the two sets of walls as the result of a restoration or a re-decoration. In that case the colourful west and south walls document the original situation, whereas the north and east walls represent a second phase and are covered with a new, predominantly white decoration. As a rule, in the case of heavy damages the whole set of paintings would have been replaced by new ones or the painter would have restored the existing remains. He even could



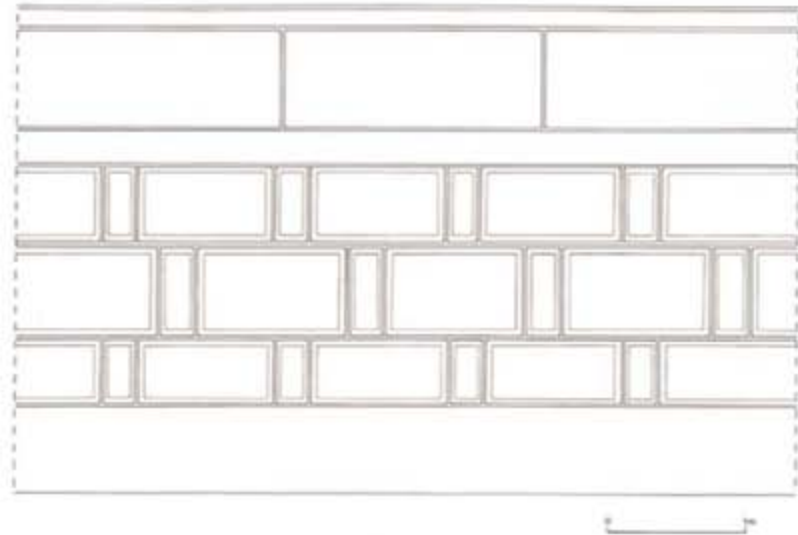
Fig. 10 Sulmona, paintings on the south and west walls of the cella of the Hercules Temple, around 80-70 BC (Van Wouterghem 1989, pl. IV, with permission of the author). For a colour version of this figure, see page 238.

³¹ S. Lapenna, in *I luoghi degli dei. Sacro e natura nell'Abruzzo italico*, 1997, 81-82.

³² Van Wouterghem 1984, 240-253; F. van Wouterghem, La

decorazione del sacello, in Mattiocco 1989, 151-158. For the Hercules cult and the cultural situation see Letta 1992, 116-117, 118.

Fig. 11 Sulmona, reconstruction of the cella decoration in the Hercules Temple (drawing E.J. Ponten, Radboud University Nijmegen).



have chosen an ‘old-fashioned’ scheme to have it fit the sacred sphere. A third option is that the fragments come from two different rooms or two different periods within the same room and belong to two simultaneous or two subsequent decorative schemes. The fourth alternative is that the excavators gathered fragments from only one phase but reconstructed them as two different types because of the conspicuous differences in colour and scheme. It seems that the latter solution has the highest degree of plausibility: one single scheme can be reconstructed in which the white fragments belong to a frieze in the upper zone, over the zone with the fancy blocks, which proposal has been worked out in the reconstruction drawing (fig. 11). This composition should follow, to a certain extent, real and fantasy architectural schemes like the stucco imitation in the First Style in Fregellae, Volterra, and Populonia, showing a balustrade with slim columns over a heavy wall of colourful marble blocks. This type of wall is encountered several times in First Style ensembles, for instance in the atrium of the well-known Samnite House in Herculaneum.³³ Lacking a good excavation and restoration report, this alternative solution cannot be substantiated.³⁴ The scheme of imitated marble blocks fits the fashion of the first half of the first century BC and was in use after the Social War, resulting from the rebuilding of the small temple on a grander scale. This decorative fashion, in which no or few columns and/or other elements creating spatial effects have been integrated, was at its most popular around the decade 80-70 and fits Sulmona’s chronology perfectly. The decoration of the floor, a mosaic with Jupiter’s thunderbolt to be interpreted as a reference to the god’s beloved son, also dates to this phase. A proposal to date this phase of the complex to the second century BC, therefore, cannot be substantiated.³⁵ As Wallace-Hadrill put it, this complex evidences the “enormous investment in local religiosity and local pride.”³⁶ The embellishment of the temple surely was a necessary tool to display these ambitions.

The temple of Santuario della Giostra near Sulmona, south of Lago Fucino, at Amplero has three cellae. The building with three cellae was constructed shortly after 89 and replaced a previous shrine from the second

³³ Laidlaw 1985, pl. 41c, 80b; cf. her pl. 50a (Delos), 32, 52a (Pompeii, House of the Ship Europa).

³⁴ Marie José Strazzulla supports my impression that the reconstruction is not correct (pers. comm.). One of her students, Andrea Salcuni, is currently writing a PhD dissertation on wall paintings and mosaics in the Abruzzo region and is analyzing this problem (see Salcuni 2006 for preliminary results).

³⁵ G.F. La Torre, *Il santuario di Ercole Curio*, in Mattiocco 1989, 15-150, esp 142. As a matter of fact, the painting is not executed in stucco relief (so La Torre). Van Wouterghem 1984, 250 sees the monument as a first-century extension and rebuilding of a second-century sanctuary, which still seems most likely. The cult would end in the run of the second century AD (Van Wouterghem 1984, 252).

³⁶ Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 115. Cf. Donati 2007, 367.

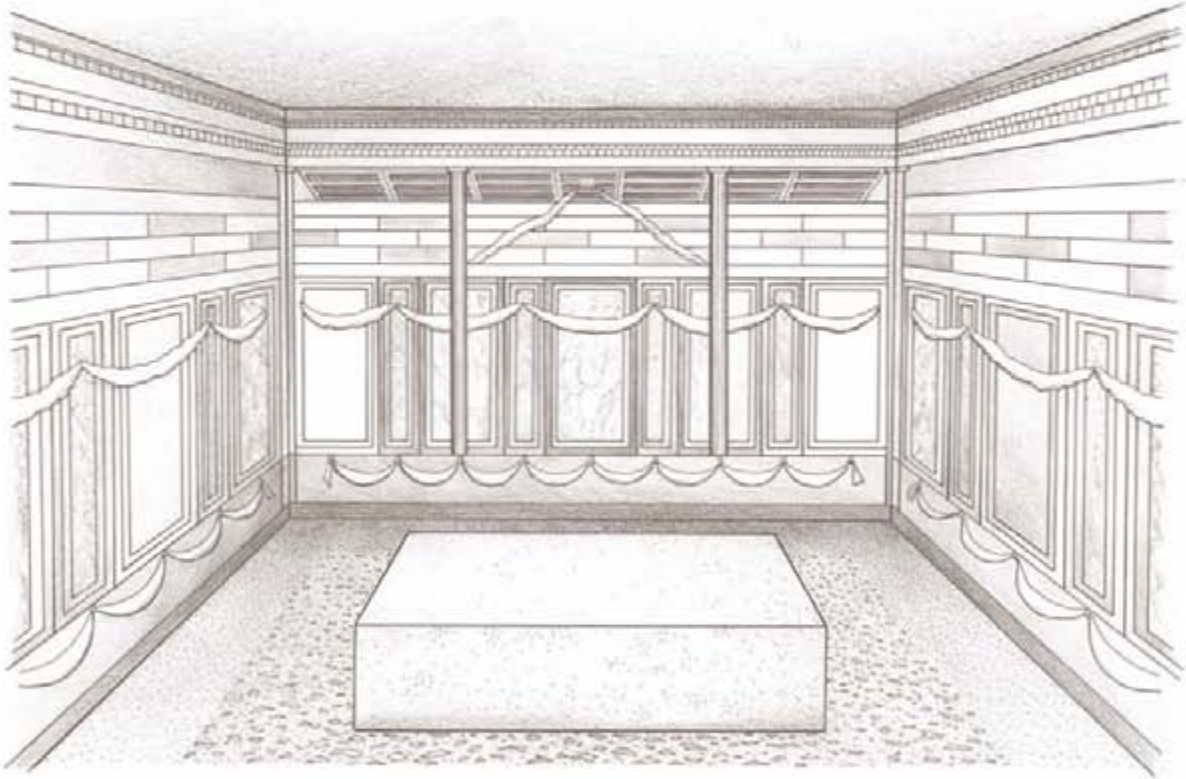


Fig. 12 Amplerio, Temple, reconstruction of the decoration (courtesy F. Donati; redrawn by R. Reijnen, Radboud University Nijmegen).

century BC. As to paintings, we mainly have fragments of paintings from the central cult room A, building 2. These murals consist of an imitation of multicoloured marble orthostates like those at Sulmona, enlivened by some hanging garlands or *taeniae* and separated by purple stripes (fig. 12). The dado had a black plinth and red plates, also with drapery, whereas the upper zone showed at least four layers of small blocks and a cornice. The back wall also contained two columns supporting a roof of which the lacunars of the ceiling can be seen.³⁷ The floor consisted of a covering in *cocciopesto* with regular marble plaques as adornment.

The floor decoration of a temple for Hercules at Località Case Lanciotti, Masseria Nisii in the municipality of Montorio al Vomano near Teramo contains an inscription dating to 55 that tells about its construction and painting:³⁸

Q(uintus) Ofillius C(ai) F(ilius) Ruf(us) Sex(tus) Calidenus K(ai) F(ilius) Q(uinti) N(e)pos / T(itus) Temonius T(iti) L(ibertus) Flac(cus) Mag(istri) aed(em) / Herc(ulis) d(e) u(ici) s(citu) fac(iendam) ping(endam) c(o)erauerunt eisdemq(ue) pr(ob)auerunt / Cn(aeo) Pompeio M(arco) Licinio con(s)ulibus iter(um).

³⁷ F. Donati in *Amplerio. Archeologia e storia di un centro italico-romano. 20 anni di ricerche*, Amplerio 1989, 20, 22-23; C. Letta, *Il complesso archeologico di Amplerio*, in Campanelli 2001, 224-255; F. Donati, *ibid.*, 235, fig. 1; Donati 2007. She compares the decorations to Sulmona (see above), and sanctuaries I could not find substantial data about: Luco dei Marsi, Iuvanum (Chieti), and Bolsena (Donati 2007, 368, with bibl.).

³⁸ *CIL* I², 765; IX, 5052. I owe this reference to Tesse Stek, who also points at scant remains of decoration in the nearby Abbruzzan sanctuary in Superaequum (nowadays Castel di Ieri, l'Aquila) dating to the middle of the first century BC and at San Giovanni in Galdo near Campobasso in Molise. At the latter site he found a fragment of plaster, painted in red and white, belonging to this complex dated to around 100 BC. About these sanctuaries: Stek 2009.



Fig. 13 Brescia, Republican Temple, western shrine, wall decoration (photo L. Monopoli and L. Caldera, Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia). For a colour version of this figure, see page 239.

The magistri Quintus Ofillius Rufus, son of Gaius, Sextus Calidenus, son of Gaius and grandson of Quintus, and Titus Temonius Flaccus, freedman of Titus have commissioned to build and paint the temple of Hercules with consent of the neighbourhood and personally approved under the consulate of Gnaeus Pompeius and Marcus Licinius for the second time.

Unfortunately, the remains themselves did not yield any of the mentioned decoration.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the extensive remains of the Capitolium with four cellae were discovered in Brescia. The attribution of the shrine to the *Trias Capitolina* plus a local divinity is a point of contention. From an architectural standpoint, the building is peculiar. As a matter of fact, every cella constitutes a temple of its own, with its independent flight of stairs and entrance. In every cella fluted columns with an Ionic or Corinthian base were erected in front of the walls, similar to those found in opulent *oeci corinthii* of the same period in Pompeian houses, such as the House of the Labyrinth and the House of the Silver Wedding. Furthermore, we see the imitation of a rich marble incrustation in all cellae (fig. 13). The two cellae on the external side have a painted dado covered with the representations of drapery attached to the wall by rings. They probably imitate a practice of covering the walls with drapery. No remains of real fabric in temples or other buildings are known, but similar examples in painting can be recorded in houses in Solunto and Centuripe in Sicily.³⁹ In the middle zone there are orthostates separated by pilasters and crowned by a meander frieze. The upper zone is missing. In the two interior cellae the dado shows the imitation of large blocks, over which there are panels framed by Ionic half columns executed in stucco relief. The complex in Brescia was constructed after 73 BC and the decorations

³⁹ Tybout 1989, 115-116, pl. 86.1; with references, esp. in note

397. He does not discuss the Brescia paintings.

must have been applied before 55.⁴⁰ The impression evoked in these temple rooms, is that of richness, thanks to the various coloured materials as well as the mosaic floors and the marble ornaments in the architecture. In the Flavian era, the four-cella temple was partly demolished and a real Capitolium was built on top of these remains, with three cellae whose floors and walls were covered with precious marble slabs, as had become usual in the course of the first century AD. This revetment remained in use until Late Antiquity and some damage was properly restored.

The architectural characteristics of the four cellae in Brescia are also found in the area of the ‘quattro tempie’ in Ostia. Roberto Paribeni found fragments of wall plaster with elements in relief among the debris in the corridors between the four identical cult rooms. Furthermore, there were stucco fragments in white, one of them bearing a graffito with the names of the consuls in 23 BC, Augustus and Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso. The floors were covered with simple white mosaics in *opus tessellatum*. According to Paribeni the stuccoes belong to a decoration dating to the middle or third quarter of the first century BC, his phase of the ‘secondi tempie’.⁴¹ In her extensive discussion of the complex Anna-Katharina Rieger follows this suggestion.⁴² It is impossible nowadays, as has been observed by Rieger *expressis verbis*, to ascertain whether the hypothesis is correct.⁴³ Reading Rieger’s dissertation, however, I cannot escape the impression that the fragments may belong to the pre-sanctuary phase of Paribeni’s fourth stratum, when the building did apparently not yet have a cultic function.⁴⁴ Otherwise, we must admit that the paintings were ‘old-fashioned’ murals designed to enhance the venerability of the shrines in the late Republic. Another option is that we are dealing with imitations of first century BC First Style decorations, similar to those in Pompeii and creating the same effect (see *infra*: Temple of Jupiter). Very little is known about paintings in a later phase of this sanctuary, dated to the second century AD and called the ‘terzi tempie’.⁴⁵

The tuff podia of the Temple of the Round Altar, the Temple of Aesculapius and the Temple of Hercules Invictus in Ostia still show remains of a white stucco layer in the First Style.⁴⁶ The cellae, entirely rebuilt in the imperial period, have traces of a facing in stucco, which implies the presence of painting instead of marble incrustation. The latter can be seen in the first of the three mentioned temples. As to the Temple of Aesculapius the paintings – entirely vanished and not recorded – it is worth noting that they cover a preparatory layer of mortar for a real marbling. Apparently, this was stripped at a certain moment (conceivably because they had been ruined, probably in the late second or the third century) and replaced by the cheap murals.⁴⁷ The centre of the floor displays an *emblema in giallo antico*. By this time, the status of the three temples, lying on a much lower

⁴⁰ Schmerbeck 1993, 4-8, pl. 1-3; Rossi 1996, 103, fig. 22 (in colour), 148-149 no. 359 (with bibliography); Rossi 2002, 47-76; F. Zevi, *Opus albariorum*, in Rossi 2002, 35-45 (chronology); Moormann 1998, 28; *ibid.* p. 270 cat. 5-6, fig. at p. 118-119; M. Salvadori, in Baldassarre 2002, 81-84; *Brixia* 2003, 40-53. The complex has never been documented properly.

⁴¹ Paribeni 1914, 460. Next to the temples, fragments of paintings were found: “Presentano colori uniti (nero, giallo, verde, rosso, ceruleo), riferibili cioè allo stile a incrostazione che appare nelle più antiche case di Pompei della fine del secondo e del principio del primo secolo av. Chr.” Consuls’ graffito: 461-462 with fig. 10; other graffiti: 461, figs. 11-13. Strikingly, no marble was used here until the second century AD (Pensabene 2007, 11-12).

⁴² Rieger 2004, 39-92, esp. 52, 53 (time frame in table 1); 278 cat. QT 61. See also Steuernagel 2004, 68-69.

⁴³ Rieger 2004, 52 note 240: “Die Datierung ist von Paribeni übernommen, da keine Möglichkeit besteht, die Fragmente in einem interpretierbaren Erhaltungszustand aufzufinden.”

⁴⁴ See Rieger 2004, 53 table 1.

⁴⁵ Paribeni 1914, 476, note 1; Rieger 2004, 278 cat. QT 62. For new documentation and overview of the chronology see Pensabene 2007, 85-114, who observes (p. 114) a “processo di marmorizzazione dal periodo adrianeo, portato avanti da Gamala Junior e probabilmente anche da altri personaggi.”

⁴⁶ See Meiggs 1973, 147-350; Ostie 2001, 247-249; Rieger 2004, 225-232; cf. Pensabene 2007, 53-64, pl. 5.3 (Temple of the Round Altar), 72-78 (Temple of Aesculapius), 64-72 (Temple of Hercules).

⁴⁷ Not recognised by Pensabene 2007, 78, who only describes a thick layer of mortar.

Fig. 14 Brescia, Imperial Temple, painting of a ship (photo L. Monopoli and L. Caldera, Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia). For a colour version of this figure, see page 239.



level than the surrounding blocks (especially the Baths of Buticosus) and their lower parts buried, must have diminished. It appears that the town's inhabitants needed more living space.

The second century BC 'Temple B' in the forum of Herdonia (Ordona, Apulia) had a layer of stucco on the outer walls of the podium, bearing a thin layer of red paint.⁴⁸ This is, apart from the Syracuse shrine discussed above, the only example from Hellenistic and Roman *Magna Graecia* that I am aware of.

While we saw an internationally defined way of decoration in the second century, not to be attributed to one single source, the changes in the first century BC are expressions of an increasing Romanisation that took place after the several wars at the beginning of that century. The influence of Rome, now the absolute centre of power, could be observed in many places.⁴⁹ Temples often changed into Capitolia and together with decoration in the Second Style became vectors of Roman 'civilisation'. Pompeii, discussed below, provides a good example of the developments in the course of the late Republic, namely the establishment of local identity and pride in the second century (Temples of Apollo and Jupiter) and a transformation to Romanised sanctuaries after the conquest by Sulla (Temple of Jupiter).⁵⁰

IMPERIAL TEMPLES IN ITALY

As noted on p. 47, the architecture of the imperial period made increasing use of marble, for which reason painted decorations became less frequent. Hence, the list of temples decorated with paintings that can be discussed is brief. Representative examples are found in Pompeii, Herculaneum, Misenum and Urbisaglia. Pompeii provides a detailed case-study.

In the modern region of the Marche, ancient Picenum, the important 1970s excavations at Urbisaglia brought to light considerable remains of the Temple of Salus Augusta. Here, Augustus founded a colony for his veterans in AD 14-15 and a classical Roman temple was constructed upon a podium surrounded by a cryptoporticus as the primary feature of the new forum. The corridors of this large cryptoporticus (with the south and north corridors measuring 52 metres and the east one, behind the temple podium, 42 metres) contain remains of paintings which can be dated to the phase of foundation, AD 22-23, as was reconstructed by Christiane Del-

⁴⁸ Mertens 1995, 164, fig. 147.

⁴⁹ As to temple complexes, I refer to various cases discussed by Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 116-128: Assisi, Alatri, Segni, and Cori.

⁵⁰ See Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 129-138 on Pompeii in the third and second centuries BC.



Fig. 15 Breno, Temple of Minerva, central cella, dado (photo L. Monopoli and L. Caldera, Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia).

place.⁵¹ The paintings themselves are still *in situ* and show elements of the Augustan-Tiberian Third Style. The murals on the cryptoporticus' best-preserved wall have been extensively analysed by Delplace.⁵² They show a black dado subdivided into oblong and square rectangles. The square ones contain Medusa heads and support the yellow bands of the main zone. These separation bands contain candelabra and so-called embroidery bands⁵³ and stand between red panels. The panels contain remains of figural themes. According to Delplace amphorae and baskets were depicted, but Edgar Markus Luschin argues that the badly preserved images on the uneven panels should be interpreted as trophies, a good accompaniment to the Genius Augusti but not so suitable for a more peaceful *Salus Augusta*.⁵⁴ The other panels must have had other motifs. A frieze with small images of various animals and Medusa heads concludes this zone. The upper zone, painted on a white ground, is not well preserved and cannot be reconstructed in full. No references to the temple and its dedicatee are made in the paintings. They have nothing specifically religious and correspond with the features of the Third Style.

Other finds come from the debris in the excavation layer between the Republican and the Imperial temples in Brescia. These consist of some fragments of a painting with the representation of a cargo ship whose context unfortunately cannot be established (fig. 14). The decoration is dated to the middle of the first century AD.⁵⁵

The second phase of the Temple of Minerva in Breno (Lombardy) is dated by a coin from the reign of Domitian. Filli Rossi and her team of local archaeologists explored a building with nine rooms lined along a portico.

⁵¹ Delplace 1993, 239. The northern and southern corridors have apses on top like those in Sabratha (see below Chapter 6).

⁵² Delplace 1981 (on paintings); 1983, 767-776 (on the temple); 1993, 324. The description and the figure (Delplace 1981, fig. 6) are based on the remains of the inner (i.e. northern) wall of the southern portico: see Delplace 1981, fig. 2-3; 1993, 270-280, fig. 34, pls. V-VII, X. Short description also in Sisani 2006, 352-353. This author also mentions paintings in another sanctuary in Umbria, a Serapeion under the monastery of the SS. Crocefisso at Treia, ancient Trea, from the second century AD (Sisani 2006, 331-332). Mosa-

ics and marble veneers are mentioned in U. Moscatelli, *Trea*, Florence 1988 (*Forma Italiae*), 55, fig. 46.

⁵³ Delplace 1981, 30 and 32: "ricamata". Not to be confounded with the tapestry borders of the Fourth Style. In the Urbisaglia paintings they are stylised friezes of circles, dots and triangles: Delplace 1981, fig. 7 (main zone) and 22 (upper zone).

⁵⁴ Luschin 2002, 51-52, 106-109.

⁵⁵ Rossi 2002, 77-93 (E. Marinani and S. Medas: vessel), 201-213 (C. Angelelli and F. Guidobaldi: floor in *opus sectile*), 218 (F. Rossi: reconstruction of the architecture).

Fig. 16 Borno, Temple of Minerva, dado (photo L. Monopoli and L. Caldera, Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia).



The temple had three cellae, all decorated with paintings, whereas the other rooms must have had functions that were combined with the cultic practices. The central cult room (I) would have been the most important one, if we may rely on the rich floor mosaics, which display a geometric pattern in black and white *opus tessellatum*, and a statue of Minerva in Pentelic marble of Minerva in the style of a well-known classical model, namely Athena Hope or Farnese. In contrast, the mural decoration is barely preserved apart from the red and black dados in which figural and floral motives have been applied.⁵⁶ The apse of this middle cella, where once the cult statues stood, shows painted architectural elements and painted incrustation imitations on its walls (fig. 15). No murals were preserved in the other cult rooms. The building could have been built in the late first century BC and was probably dedicated to Minerva. Its impressive architecture and decoration are on par with those of the Capitolium at nearby Brescia but do not show a specific cultic iconography or character.⁵⁷ Rossi points to the high degree of Romanisation in this area and suggests that Minerva is an *interpretatio romana* of a local cult of a water goddess.⁵⁸

Not far from Breno in the Val Camonica is Borno, where a shrine was discovered by Rossi and her team in 1996. As we know from previous finds of inscriptions, this building could also have been dedicated to Minerva.

⁵⁶ F. Rossi, Breno (Brescia), Loc. Spinera, *Bollettino d'Arte* 1-2 (1990) 91-93: mosaic, fig. 3; painting on fig. 4 shows a rosette and a protruding base; cult statue, fig. 5. Similar images in the yearly reports in *Notiziario della Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia*, all by Filli Rossi and with the same title Breno (BS), Località Spinera - 1986, 65-67 (good drawing of the dado, fig. 60); 1988-1989, 82-85: painting in 'vano 2', namely "*frammento piuttosto grande, di intonaco a fondo nero, su zoccolo rosso, con tracce della parte inferiore di una statua e del suo drappeggio*", which does not pertain to the paintings, but to the Athena; 1990, 60-62 (no paintings); 1991, 28-30 (new rooms, up to 12); 1992-1993, 35-36 (portico at the northern side); 1994, 73-74 (debris layers). Finally, F.

Rossi, Breno (BS): il santuario di Minerva, *Caesarodunum* 26 (1992) 379-384 gives the same data. Here one already finds the comparison with Brescia on p. 380. The dado also in Baldassarre 2002, 270-272. The whole complex is now presented in a monumental volume: Rossi 2010 (paintings from room I are discussed by E. Mariani on pp. 205-222, those from rooms 2 and 5 by B. Bianchi on pp. 223-239; cult statue presented by Rossi on pp. 176-185).

⁵⁷ Rossi 1989, 27, 31; Schmerbeck 1993, 49-51, pl. 30-31; F. Rossi, Breno, in *EAA. Secondo Supplemento I* (1994) 732-733.

⁵⁸ Rossi 2004, 43-47. This implies the presence of pre-Roman remains.



Fig. 17 Herculaneum, Temple B, view into cella with not pertaining reliefs and remains of decoration (photo author).

The paintings found there covered the lower parts of the walls which were still standing (fig. 16). The excavator describes “red bands, yellow ochre and scant remains of floral motifs on a white background”, elements usual in dado decorations of the Fourth Style. As a matter of fact, the complex is dated to the Julio-Claudian era, partly on the basis of these painted decorations.⁵⁹

Apart from buildings for the imperial cult (see further discussion in Chapter 6), there are two small temples in Herculaneum which require further discussion. They are located on a platform looking towards the sea and were constructed on top of a series of arched niches for the deposit of ships and goods. The platform also contains an open space, interpreted as a garden by some scholars.⁶⁰ Some vaulted rooms stand next to the temples, one of which (the most eastern one) contains traces of Fourth Style paintings and has been interpreted as the room of the *ostiarius* of this area, whereas nowadays the series is seen as the accommodation of a confraternity connected with the cult of Venus.⁶¹ The shrines are located on a shallow platform and have modest flights of stairs at the sides. The platform in front of temple B had white marble slabs and some traces of a black floor in *opus tessellatum*.

The northern (left) shrine, labelled B, is *in antis* and has an interior decoration of *giallo antico* marble on the floor and mixed types of marble on the dado of the podium constructed at the back. Two bases for statues, again

⁵⁹ F. Rossi, Borno (BS) Località Calanno, via Marconi 231, *Notiziario della Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia* 1995-1997, 76-77; Rossi 2004, 40. At Cividate Camuno (BS) was discovered in the same period a private shrine in what remains of a Roman *domus*: F. Rossi and J. Bishop, Cividate Camuno (BS) Via G. Tovini, *Notiziario della Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia* 1995-1997, 90-91; Rossi 2004, 43, fig. 12; Bassani 2003, 415-416, 625 no. 185, fig. 152.

⁶⁰ Maiuri 1958, 181; Jashemski 1993, 276 no. 567; Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006a, 302-303; M.P. Guidobaldi in *Ercolano*

no 2008, 54-61, 248.

⁶¹ Maiuri 1958, 177-178 fig. 144-145 (*ostiarius*); M.P. Guidobaldi in *Ercolano* 2008, 54 (*confraternitas of Venerii*). In the arches underneath, some three hundred inhabitants of the town had sought shelter during the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79. They were killed by pyroclastic waves at midnight after the eruption and their corpses were – unexpectedly – discovered in the 1980s (see most recently Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006a, 300-302 and L. Capasso *et al.* in Mühlbrock and Richter 2005, 45-56).

Fig. 18 Herculaneum, Temple A, cella, northern wall (photo Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei).

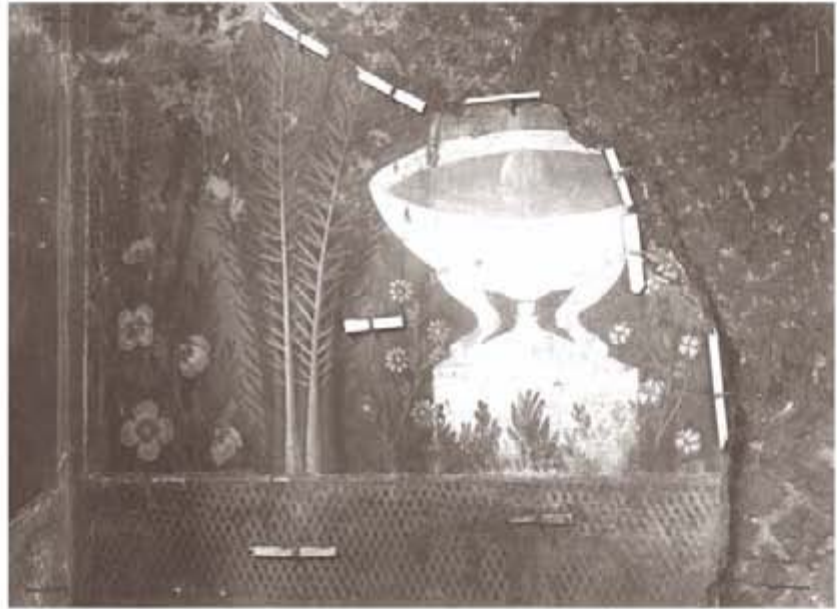


Fig. 19 Herculaneum, Temple A, cella, northwest corner (photo Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei).

embellished with colourful marble plaques, stand on top.⁶² Above the podium wall paintings have been applied in the shape of three red panels with a series of palmettes in bands along the inner sides (fig. 17). These panels are surrounded by black bands adorned with candelabra. Nothing betrays any specific iconography or shape. The outer walls were covered with white plaster, subdivided by means of grooves into orthostates. Small fragments have been preserved at the north-eastern corner, where one sees a red dado crowned by a stucco cornice that runs under the orthostates, and on the front side of the podium (here nine blocks have been suggested). Four archaistic reliefs found on the beach below the temple's terrace have mistakenly been connected to this building and have been applied to the front of the podium; now modern casts have been placed there. The gods shown are Vulcanus, Neptune, Mercury, and Minerva.⁶³ However, it has also been said that the god worshipped here was prob-

⁶² Maiuri 1958, 182-184, with a succinct description of the murals at p. 183: "*parete di fondo dietro il podio, dipinta in rosso cinabro e scompartita in pannelli da fasce verticali nere, elegantemente decorate da tralci di edera stilizzati.*" Cf. De Vos and De Vos 1982, 282; Balasco and Pagano 2004 (prostyle); Guidobaldi 2006a; Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006a, 310-311; Van Andringa 2009, 123-124, fig. 86; Balasco 2009, 99,

fig. 34. The marble veneer covering the podium must have been taken away by the Bourbon excavators as was the floor in *opus sectile* (see Guidobaldi 2006a).

⁶³ T. Buddetta, *RStPomp* 3 (1989) 265; *RStPomp* 4 (1990) 220; Pagano 1996, 237. But see Guidobaldi 2006a, 109 and M.P. Guidobaldi in *Ercolano* 2008, 248.

ably Dionysus and fragments of a marble statue representing the wine god having been found at this location.⁶⁴ The two bases on the podium mentioned suggest the presence of two deities in the shrine. The chronology of this building has not yet been established, but probably fits the entire early-Augustan building activities in this lower part of town.⁶⁵

The right (southern) temple A, *in antis*, is a rectangular room with a podium at the rear. No marble revetment is to be seen here and the floor is covered with a mosaic of white *tesserae*. The front of the podium has a painted imitation of *giallo antico*. The walls are adorned with poorly preserved traces of garden representations (figs. 18-19).⁶⁶ On each wall there is a trellis in the dado on a black background. The remainder of the walls displays trees and shrubs against a blue or black background: blue on the long walls, black on the wall above the podium. The back wall is subdivided into three vertical parts by means of pilasters like those in the House of the Painted Orchard in Pompeii, which are not, or no longer, present on the long side walls. The left wall has a portion preserved at the southern side containing a marble basin on a square base. No birds can be distinguished, but they are mentioned by the excavator Amedeo Maiuri and can be seen in old photographs. On both sides of the entrance a standing ship's helm in red and green is visible on the black background, without other elements, above the trellis: the one at the eastern side lacks the upper half of the blade, the opposite one is intact. It has been suggested that this attribute identifies the venerated deity. As Wilhelmina F. Jashemski puts it: "Quite possibly the paintings were punctuated with such motifs, sacred to the divinity worshipped here." It must be Fortuna, possibly in her form as Venus or Isis.⁶⁷

Some of the plants have been compared by Jashemski to those in the House of the Painted Orchard in Pompeii, but nowadays the execution looks rather schematic and rough, for which reason the similarities (to which the trellis can be added) seem more formal than stylistically relevant. However, the old photos published by Domenico Esposito substantiate Jashemski's suggestion and Esposito plausibly suggests the murals came from the same workshop which produced the art in the House of the Painted Orchard and the House of the Golden Bracelet in Pompeii.⁶⁸ The paintings may have been applied in the period of the Third Style, more specifically in phase IIb, in the time of Claudius, and contemporary with those in the House of the Orchard. The marbling on the podium seems to be a later addition belonging to the repertoire of the Fourth Style. In the period of the Third Style garden paintings were popular as an interior decoration and not yet applied in the open air on garden walls.⁶⁹

Partly in contrast with the hypotheses on the dedications previously mentioned, partly in the same vein, Maria Paola Guidobaldi recently suggested that the temples A and B formed one single complex dedicated to Venus, whereas the gods depicted on the four slabs are either secondary and auxiliary deities or have nothing to do with the temple and stem from another building. This assumption is based on the find of fragments of

⁶⁴ Maiuri 1958, 185.

⁶⁵ Ganschow 1989, 101, 124. Guidobaldi 2006a makes clear that B is younger than A.

⁶⁶ Maiuri 1958, 181-182, fig. 149 (good picture of the left wall and the oar on the back wall; only picture published); Jashemski 1979, 158-160; Michel 1980, 386; De Vos 1982, 282; Moormann 1988, 104 no. 023; Jashemski 1993, 371 no. 112; De Caro 1993, 302; Balasco and Pagano 2004 (prostyle and tetrastyle); Esposito 2005 with figs. 1-3 and 11 (dado with faux marbling); Guidobaldi 2006a; Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006a, 309-310; Van Andringa 2009, 121-123, figs 84-85.

⁶⁷ Maiuri 1958, 185; Pagano 1996, 236-237 (who mentions an inscription with her name found on the beach): Venus marina. Michel 1980, 386 suggests Isis, while the oar might also refer to the commissioner. So also De Caro 1993, 302; Esposito 2005, 225 note 11.

⁶⁸ Esposito 2005, 225-230. On this workshop see Moormann 1995.

⁶⁹ So Maiuri 1958, 182; Michel 1980, 386 and 391-393. But they could even be slightly earlier: Ganschow 1989, 101, 124. Cf. De Kind 1998, 52-55.



Fig. 20 Ostia, Temple of Bona Dea, portico (photo S.T.A.M. Mols). For a colour version of this figure, see page 240.

marble façade elements and inscriptions on the beach. According to these texts, the *liberta* Vibidia Saturnina and her son Aulus Furius Saturninus were responsible for the rebuilding of the Augustan *aedes Veneris* around 70.⁷⁰ As a matter of fact, this new information is not contradicted by the material at hand. The garden paintings are appropriate for the dedication and the allusion to Isis could be an interesting additional detail. Therefore, Guidobaldi's provisional conclusion may be very likely, the goddess Venus Marina was venerated in diverse forms as a protectress of the sea and the seafarers.

At Ostia little evidence of painted decoration in public temples has been found.⁷¹ The Sanctuary of Bona Dea consists of a tetrastyle podium temple surrounded by a wall and, partly, a portico (fig. 20). Both the portico and the interior of the cella still have considerable remains of panel decoration from the first century AD, a rare case

⁷⁰ M.P. Guidobaldi in *Ercolano* 2008, 54-61, 248. Balasco and Pagano 2004, 196-197; Guidobaldi et al. 2008, and A. Camodeca in *Ercolano* 2008, 58-61 give the longest text, as far as reconstructed, with integrations: *V[ibi]dia Virginis l. Saturni[na] et A. Fu[r]ius Saturnin[us] / [o]b honores sibi et suis decret[os a]edem Ven[eris vetustate corr]uptam / [imp]ensa sua refectam adornaverunt pronaio a solo fa[ct]o id[em HS --- 3 letters - in Capit]oli refec / [tio]e(m) contulerunt et amplius HS LIII reip. dederunt ob flamon[ia]m et dec[urionatum] - - 6/7 letters - m]aximi. ('Vibidia Saturnina, freedwoman of Virgo, and Aulus Furius Saturninus have embellished the temple of Venus fallen in disrepair by age, remade at their expense, because of honours bestowed on them and their relatives, with the newly built pronaos. They also contributed ?? sesterces for the restoration of the Capitol and furthermore gave*

54 thousand sesterces to the state because of (having received the functions) of *flamen* and *decurio* ...') See also Guidobaldi 2006a; Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006a, 308-311. It is deservedly observed in these publications that a thorough study of the complex is still lacking. For the other inscription see Camodeca 2008, 59-61 and D. Nonnis in Coarelli 2009, 479.

⁷¹ A good overview is K. Rieger, "Les sanctuaires publics à Ostie de la République jusqu'au Haut Empire", in *Ostie* 2001, 247-261, but see also her monograph Rieger 2004 and Steuernagel 2004, 60-119. With reference to the painted decoration in Ostia Russell Meiggs wrote (1973, 437): "But from basilicas, temples, the largest of the imperial baths, and other major public buildings almost nothing survives [...]" His discussion of the temples omits mention of painted decoration (p. 337-388).

of good preservation of remains before Ostia's second century florescence.⁷² The cella decoration is discernible in the right corner under a base for a cult statue which was inserted at a later date, covering the previous paintings. These can be dated to the first quarter of the first century AD and belong to the mature Third Style. The dado is black and has a subdivision into small panels of various forms by means of thin yellow lines. Motifs like still lifes, maenads and Medusa heads adorn the panels. The middle zone, partly preserved, is red and shows the lower parts of fluted columns. Stella Falzone thinks that the figural motifs endorse the dedication of the temple to Mother Nature, but they are rather generic and too insignificant in size and position to have a clear significance. The decoration belongs to the few examples of Third Style in Ostia and surroundings.⁷³ As to the portico, large sections of Fourth-Style decorations are still visible, showing the same colour scheme as those in the cella. The black dado is subdivided into small panels, some of them occupied by putti. The main zone has red panels with embroidery bands and vertical vegetal motifs, separated by black bands. These are filled with architectural prospects with striking elegant slim columns.⁷⁴ On the southeastern wall of the portico five complete and two partial panels of this paratactic system can still be seen; there must have been five or six more of them. Falzone compares the decorations, more precisely dated to the era of Domitian, to those in the porticoes of the Temples of Apollo and Isis in Pompeii. This may be true for the paratactic schemes, ideal for long wall sections, but the Ostia murals are very slender and reflect the older decoration in the cella, being of a rather classical nature. Since there are no specific cultic symbols, they do not give the impression that the onlooker is in a temple precinct. However, the lack of the major part of the main zone and of the entire upper zone forbids definitive conclusions.

The Temple of Bellona was explored in the 1990s by Angelo Pellegrino and Ricardo Mar. Apart from fragments of wall plaster, considerable remains of a mural were found on the southern wall. The yellow background has simple red aediculae in the dado from which architectural vistas arise in the main zone. The floor is in white *opus tessellatum* with a black border. This decoration might date to the time of the Antonines, but Rieger argues for an earlier date.⁷⁵

At Cori remains of a temple dedicated to Castor and Pollux have been preserved among the later buildings of the medieval town. Recent work by German archaeologists produced a complete *Bauaufnahme* and documentation of the scant remains of floor mosaics and wall paintings. The interior of the building contained a platform at the rear side for the statues of the twin gods and dadoes at the sides on which columns rose up to the ceiling. These dados were decorated with a Second-Style marble imitation in the shape of red and orange orthostates separated by bands. The main and upper zones are lost entirely, but Erich Altenhöfer suggests a reconstruction similar to that at Brescia and Alba Fucens (see below). The floor had a meandering ornamental band in black tesserae around a lost emblem.⁷⁶

Finally, mention must be made of Alba Fucens, where some walls of the cella of the Sanctuary of Hercules – known for the colossal copy of Lysippos' *Herakles Epitrapezios* – still showed remains of painted wall decoration when excavated in the 1960s. The plinth of the Hercules Room had a black-and-white mosaic floor in *opus tessellatum* with meander motif and bears an inscription *L. Vettius Q. F. Ter.*⁷⁷ The walls were decorated with a black frieze and sets of stripes and bands in the dado, whereas red panels with green or yellow frames filled the

⁷² V x, 2. Brouwer 1989, 425-427; Pavolini 1983, 221-222; Rieger 2004, 234-235, 238-239; Pavolini 2006, 231; Pensabene 2007, 182-185. On the decorations most extensively Falzone 2006.

⁷³ Falzone 2006, 414, 421-427, figs. 7-8, 16-20. As to comparanda, the decoration at the villa of Castel di Guido (now in Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo, in Rome; see E.M. Moomann in Bragantini 2010, 197-202) can be added to the Pompeian examples mentioned.

⁷⁴ Falzone 2006, 417, 427-430, figs. 12-13.

⁷⁵ IV i 4. Liedtke 2002, 95-96; Rieger 2004, 98-101, 105 (dat-

ing), fig. 70; Steuernagel 2004, 95; Pensabene 2007, 329-330. Not yet published by the excavators.

⁷⁶ Altenhöfer 2007, esp. 382-388, figs. 9-12, 16 (floor); 388-397, figs. 13-18 (walls).

⁷⁷ De Visscher, Mertens and Balty 1962, 346, 384-386, figs. 7 (meander), 27 (inscription). The authors connect this Vettius with the Marsian orator Quintus Vettius Apronianus (Cicero, *Brutus* 46.169). Hence the mosaic should date to the last decade of the Roman Republic. Salcuni 2006, 118-119 proposes the middle of the first century BC.

main zone. No traces of figural elements were encountered. The portico around the cella had also been painted, again with panels over a dado, now all in tones of red.⁷⁸ Thanks to the find of Hadrianic coins under the remains of the pavement, the ensemble can be dated to the first half of the second century. Louis Reekmans thinks that a previous proposal to date the murals in the portico to around 100 is not tenable and argues that they were painted at the same time as those in the cella.⁷⁹

PUBLIC TEMPLES IN POMPEII

Pompeii serves as a case study in many archaeological and historical studies. Thanks to the exceptional state of conservation, the material found in this Campanian town is of great importance for a better understanding of a great variety of topics. That is also true for Pompeii's temples. Therefore, their paintings are the subject of a more detailed discussion since they superbly illustrate the practice of painting interiors and exteriors of Roman temples in the Republican and Imperial eras. We will see a broad range of forms and styles of decorations that are missing from most other sites. Moreover, the enormous bulk of scholarly studies about Pompeii and its monuments lends itself to an in-depth analysis of this material and of problems connected with the religious buildings.

At Pompeii almost all important public temples from the first centuries BC and AD were constructed in brickwork, whereas the older ones were built of volcanic stone. Only the temples of Fortuna Augusta next to the forum⁸⁰ and that of Venus at the southern edge of the town were partly constructed in marble and received precious decoration of the same material.⁸¹

The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, rising on the northern side of the forum, was built in the course of the second century BC and altered into a Hellenistic temple at the end of the second century. The cella had a high podium with three small rooms underneath and eight columns along the sides built in the years after the foundation of the *Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeiana* and the new dedication to Jupiter Capitolinus in 80 BC. Simultaneously, its interior walls were adorned with a Second Style decoration.⁸² The exterior walls still bear remains of First Style stucco reliefs imitating orthostates of rather grand dimensions (265 x 122 cm) and above them (at least) one course of square and rectangular blocks (fig. 21). There are six whole and two half orthostates on the side walls, six on the back walls, and two on the front side at each side of the entrance.⁸³ The corners have pilasters with stucco flutings. The decorative systems of the wall paintings in the interior executed in these years

⁷⁸ De Visscher, Mertens and Balty 1962, 340, figs. 4, 8; Reekmans 1968, 202-203, fig. 1.

⁷⁹ Reekmans 1968, 204-206. Some other arguments are given: the evidence of an inscription and the linear style of the paintings themselves. Cf. De Visscher, Mertens and Balty 1962, 378-379.

⁸⁰ Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 115-117; Coarelli 2002, 108-109.

⁸¹ Coarelli 2002, 86-89. On the materials and the history Jacobelli and Pensabene 1995-1996. On Pompeian temple architecture see Wolf 2009. Emanuele Curti has found fragments of First Style paintings from ceilings showing yellow, red and green blocks in the debris of the Temple of Venus, dating to its first building phase. Some elements are to be seen on the east wall *in situ* ('Saggio 5'), but no extensive publication has yet come to light (see I. Varriale in Bragantini 2010, 375-386). Confusingly, the 'Temple of Venus' referred to in older and newer publications (e.g. Mols 2005, 244 note 14) is not this

building, but the Temple of Apollo (cf. p. 71).

⁸² VII 8, 1. See Lauter 1979, 431-434; De Vos and De Vos 1982, 46-47; Laidlaw 1985, 310-311; Tybout 1989, 51 (very early Second Style); De Caro 1991a, 32-32-33 (setting on the forum in the late second century); V. Sampaolo, *PPM* VII (1997) 305-311; Coarelli 2002, 67-70; Pesando 2006b, 75; Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006a, 45-47; García y García 2006, 121; Barnabei 2007, 51-56; Van Andringa 2009, 40-44; Wolf 2009, 298-304, figs. 92-98. On ideological aspects of the temple in its actual form see De Caro 1991b, 18-19, followed by Zanker 1995, 62, 66-67. Coarelli 2002, 77 suggests that the oldest temple was dedicated to Jupiter only and not (yet) to the *trias*. That is plausible, since the entrance of the *Trias Capitolina* belongs to the introduction of features characteristic of the Roman colony.

⁸³ The right front wall only has a plain white coating, probably the result of a later restoration.



Fig. 21 Pompeii, Temple of Jupiter, eastern wall, decoration of exterior (photo author).

as well as Imperial restorations (probably after the earthquake of AD 62) have been recorded in nineteenth-century drawings (figs. 22):⁸⁴ the black dado, dating to the time of Augustus (Third Style), supported a series of faux standing marble plates (eight on the long walls) on top of which ran a course of smaller blocks and a cornice, which are characteristic features for the early Second Style.⁸⁵ The paintings lack stucco relief and were flat, while the relief of the panels was suggested by painted light- and shade-accent. Finally, the floor of the cella was covered with a mosaic in *opus sectile*, showing lozenges in perspective.

The decorative repertoire enhances the rich but holy atmosphere in the cella and at the same time matches contemporary decoration in city houses. As far as can be judged on the basis of the old illustrations, the paintings lack iconographical details pointing to Jupiter and the decor is totally neutral. The repertoire fitted the programme of self representation of the town as a new Roman colony. According to Paul Zanker this display was rather too much, but this seems unjustified, considering the lack of singularities.⁸⁶

The motif of the lozenges on the floor is also present in the temple of Populonia (p. 51), in the Temple of Apollo next door (p. 71, fig. 23) and, again, in rich houses like the House of the Faun. It appears to have been installed as early as 149 in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome, if we may compare it to the motif described by Pliny the Elder as *opus scutulatum*.⁸⁷ At the Temple of Castor and Pollux on the Forum Romanum (*supra*) the lozenges motif was inserted at the end of the second century BC.⁸⁸

In some of his beautiful and still fundamental plates, the French architect François Mazois documented views of other religious buildings, some of which show traces of painted plaster, but in general too little is shown to give clues as to the decorations.⁸⁹ The other temples on the Forum nowadays show only bare walls.

⁸⁴ PPM *Disegnatori* (1995) 804-806 (consoles visible under cornice).

⁸⁵ For the cornice see Tybout 1989, 338 with references.

⁸⁶ Zanker 1995, 71: "Man hat den Eindruck, daß dabei – ästhetisch betrachtet – des Guten eher zuviel geschah."

⁸⁷ Pliny, *NH* 36.185. As to this temple, the decoration of the cella's walls in 179 BC is mentioned in Livy 40.51.3; cf. G. Tagliamonte, *LTUR* III (1996) 146. The lozenges motif is extensively discussed in Moormann and Swinkels 1983.

⁸⁸ Nielsen and Poulsen 1992. Cf. Zevi 1998, 35, note 36.

⁸⁹ On cults and cult buildings in Pompeii see Barnabei 2007; Van Andringa 2009. Mazois 1838, 22, pl. V (Temple of Zeus Meilichios, here called Neptune), XII, XIV (Temple of the Genius Augusti). De Caro 1991a, 39, 41-42 suggests that

the Temple of Zeus Meilichios was dedicated to Aesculapius, which is substantiated by Coarelli 2002, 89-92; Krzyszkowska 2002, 248-249; Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006a, 66-68; Marcatilli 2006, 36-43; Barnabei 2007; Wolf 2009, 288-291, figs 78-82. Marcatilli 2006, 22 suggests that Mazois' illustration (here reproduced as fig. 22) shows a panel decoration in the cella belonging to the First or Second Style, probably restored after AD 62 (p. 35). The outer wall shows some traces of white paintings (*ibidem*, p. 22 and fig. 37). Other studies on the Temple of Zeus Meilichios give little information about the decorations: Laidlaw 1985, 312-313; Russo 1991, 17-33, fig. 3-16. Zanker 1995, 60 sees the temple as a private shrine for a restricted group of people.

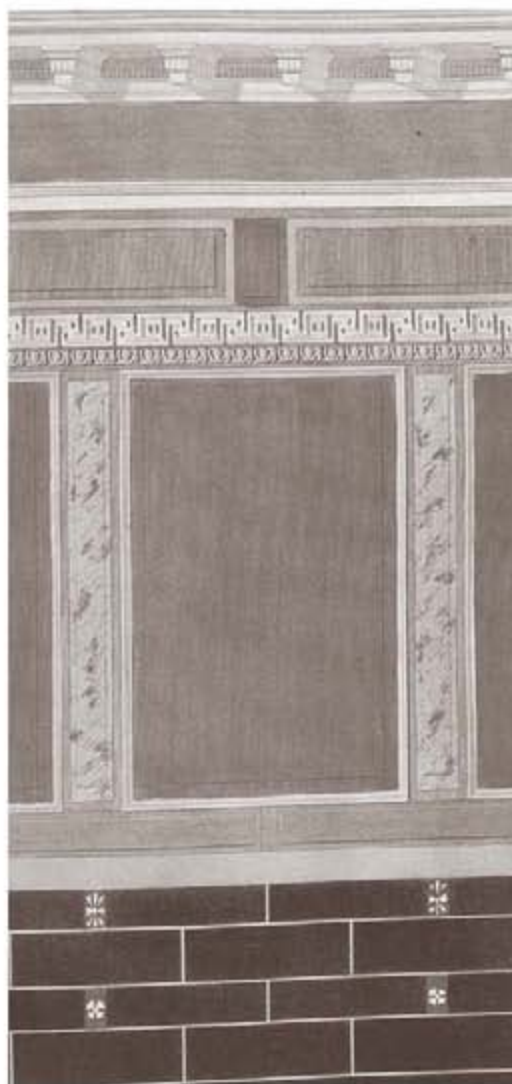
Fig. 22 Pompeii, Temple of Jupiter, cella (reconstruction from Mazois III, 1829, pl. 36). For a colour version of this figure, see page 240.

These walls, surely, must have been covered with a marble revetment during the course of the first century AD. The remains and the documentation are too scarce to arrive at substantial conclusions about their form.⁹⁰

As has been previously observed, during the Imperial period the remaining sacral monuments of Pompeii were either raised in marble (Venus) or clad with marble (Fortuna Augusta, Penates, Genius Augusti). The marble revetments, stripped in antiquity or even at the time of the excavation, resembled the traditional First Style decorations we encounter in the temples of Jupiter, Apollo, and Isis. They underline the new fashion of using precious materials and follow the tradition of installing sophisticated luxury in sanctuaries in order to enhance the impact of their important holy role. They fail to visualise the god by means of iconographical messages. Only paintings from the temples of Apollo and Isis are much better documented and it is worth studying them in greater detail. The Temple of Isis and the Temple of Sabazios in Pompeii will be discussed in Chapter 7.

THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO IN POMPEII

The Temple of Apollo is situated on a north-south axis along the west side of the forum and consists of an *aedes* in the centre of an open area surrounded by a quadriporticus. Following its discovery in 1817 and until the end of the nineteenth century people thought that the shrine had been dedicated to the city goddess Venus because of the find of marble statues of this deity and a Hermaphrodite. The depiction of a drunken Dionysus as the central image of a Fourth-Style decoration in a small room behind the north portico of the complex led to the interpretation as a temple for Bacchus.⁹¹ The decipherment of the dedicatory inscription in the cella by August Mau as



⁹⁰ There is a large amount of modern literature on these buildings. See esp. Wallat 1997; Dobbins and Ball 2005; Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006a, 40-55.

⁹¹ VII 7, 32 (previously VII 7, 1). Gell and Gandy 1852, 157, fig. at p. 165. Cf. *PPM Disegnatori* (1995) 113, 115; *PPM VII* (1997) 302-304; Coarelli 2002, 74-77; Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006a, 37-40; García y García 2006, 110-112, figs. 251-255; Barnabei 2007, 11-20; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 131-133; Van Andringa 2009, 37-40; Wolf 2009, 281-287, figs 71-77. The Bacchus in the side room should have been

brought to Naples (Mazois 1838, 39), but cannot be found there. V. Sampaolo, *PPM VII* (1997) 303 refutes this on the basis of the order given to the designer Morelli (quoted) and concludes that the image had not been cut out. Therefore, it cannot be the painting Museo Nazionale, inv. 9269. This is very similar, but has an aedicula painted around the image, whereas there are slight differences in the figures. Nevertheless, García y García 2006, 111-112, fig. 255 sticks to the old attribution.



Fig. 23 Pompeii, Temple of Apollo, cella (photo author).



Fig. 24 Pompeii, Temple of Apollo, exterior wall of cella (photo author).

late as 1882 and the discovery in 1898 of the real Temple of Venus at the southern edge of the city, constructed on top of the former city wall (VIII 1), proved that Apollo had been venerated in the 'old' temple and that the Venus and Hermaphrodite statues apparently had been 'lost' there. This dislocation might be the consequence of the eruption of Vesuvius or made necessary due to works in the Temple of Venus during which she had been temporarily installed in the portico of the nearby temple.⁹² The history of the complex reaches back into the late seventh or early sixth century BC, as we know from important excavations and studies by Amedeo Maiuri and Stefano De Caro.⁹³ The building in its present state was constructed in the course of the second century BC

⁹² Apollo's name is recorded in an Oscan dedicatory inscription on the edge of the mosaics in the cella that informs how quaestor *U. Kamp.* built this floor on behalf of the *conuentus*. This name has been reconstructed as *Oppius* or *O(vius) Camp(an[i]us)*, who nowadays seems to have a life of his own. See A. Mau, *BdI* 1882, 189, 205-207, 223; Vetter 1953, 52 no 18; De Caro 1986, 12; Meyboom 1995, 171-172 (who warns of this problem); Barnabei 2007, 12 fig. 1. *Ovius*, seen as a former *praenomen*, also became a *nomen gentilicium* of

important locals in southern Italy during the second century BC: see F. Münzer, *RE* 18.1 (1942) 1996-1997 s.v. *Ovius*; Castrén 1975, 201 no. 296. Cf. Castrén 1975, 200-201 for the *gens Oppia* and the *gens Ovia*; Laidlaw 1985, 309 note 195 and *PPM* VII (1997) 301. Other relevant finds include an omphalos in volcanic stone, the inscribed sun dial and the bronze statues of Apollo and Artemis.

⁹³ De Caro 1986, 5-10. See also De Caro 1991a, 29-32

(see further *infra*) and was extensively renovated after the earthquake of AD 62.⁹⁴ The *aedes* stands on the usual Italic podium and has an *opus sectile* floor with lozenges in perspective in its cella and travertine in the front part, installed by a certain *U. Kamp*. (see note 92) in the last decades of the second century. At the bottom of the eastern outer wall a white mosaic in *opus tessellatum* begins under the stucco layer so that we may assume such a floor in the lateral sections. (figs. 23-24)

The inner and outer walls of the cella show imitations of orthostates in stucco relief, probably applied for the last time during the reign of Claudius or Nero.⁹⁵ Within the temple there are three plates (142 x 126 cm each) on the back wall and five on the side walls, one covering the small sides next to the doors. On the left wall a horizontal protruding cornice is present above these orthostates which separate the middle zone from the superior one. The outer walls have similar plates in stucco relief (145 x 83 cm, fig. 24) but are adorned with tongues on the outer rims; there are eight plates on the long walls and five on the back wall. Above these rows there is one course of horizontal square and rectangular blocks (40 x 56 and 40 x 90 cm respectively), which is receding in respect to the large orthostates. There must have been more layers. The wall was much higher and the usual schemes show several courses. Because of the presumed height of the cult room one might expect the imitation of a colonnade like that in Fregellae and Populonia (*supra* and figs. 4-5). As in the Temple of Jupiter this decoration gives the suggestion of a costly marble revetment most likely applied during the second century BC. Its relief indicates that it was in the First Style. It cannot be excluded that repairs were carried out in later years, especially after the earthquake of AD 62. The traces still visible are too worn to give clues as to more phases.⁹⁶ The large basis in the cella was clad with marble and parts of its plinth are still visible.

The walls of the four-sided ambulatory that surrounds the temple's *piazza* were also covered with paintings. Questions on the portico's chronology are discussed in Appendix I (see pp. 84-85). The mural decoration is typical of the Fourth Style and must have replaced older ones destroyed during the earthquake of 62 or a smaller one in the period 62-79. In all cases, the actual paintings date to the last decades before AD 79. Apparently the frescoes were in a bad condition when they were discovered in 1817, because no fragments were cut out and transported to Naples and they were not fully documented. Good descriptions are lacking but drawings, watercolours and engravings from the nineteenth century (figs. 25-27, 35) transmit a partial impression of the paintings including the figural scenes.⁹⁷ The decorations consisted of a series of panels and architectural elements in the main zone above a mostly black dado, separated by architectonical structures in the shape of columns (fig. 26). The dado itself was embellished with still lifes or single figures, the lateral panels of the main zone contained seated girls. The upper zone has not been documented and the upper features of the murals therefore remain unknown. The presence of wooden constructions was intimated in front of the panels by means of the suggestion of a framework, giving the impression of painter's easels on which quadrangular 'paintings' were exposed. The best illustration is provided by Raoul Rochette's 1844 plate (fig. 27).⁹⁸ In the intermediary sections and under the large images there were small oblong panels with figural scenes. Vessels, still lifes, landscapes showing

⁹⁴ The oldest parts of the podium date from the sixth century, the more substantial remains are Hellenistic. Good documentation and an extensive bibliography are given by V. Sampaolo, *PPM VII* (1997) 286-304. See in short Lauter 1979, 420-422, 423; De Vos and De Vos 1982, 28-32; De Caro 1986, 24-25; De Caro 1991a, 29-32; Zanker 1995, 59, 67, 73. As to the revision of the traditional dating: Carroll and Godden 2000, 743-754.

⁹⁵ Mazois 1834, Pl. XXIII shows the cella decoration. See De Caro 1991b, 14. On the importance of the renovations from the Augustan times onwards De Caro 1991b, 12-14.

⁹⁶ V. Sampaolo *PPM VII* (1997) 287; Laidlaw 1985, 309-310

(possibly restored after AD 62). The stucco and painting in the portico might date to the Neronian era, whereas we have to reckon with interventions in the time of Sulla. Mols 2005 sees these stucco reliefs as recordings of the past.

⁹⁷ See especially the watercolours by Francesco Morelli, reproduced in *PPM Disegnatori* (1995) 112-115; here fig. 35.

⁹⁸ Rochette 1844, pl. 8, here fig. 27. A drawing by Félix-Emmanuel Callet from 1823 evidences the state of preservation (*Pompei* 1981, 144. 148; cf. *PPM VII*, 288). Similarly Mazois 1838, pl. XXII. In the text by Louis Barré (p. 44) it is explained that there was a figural scene in the central panel.

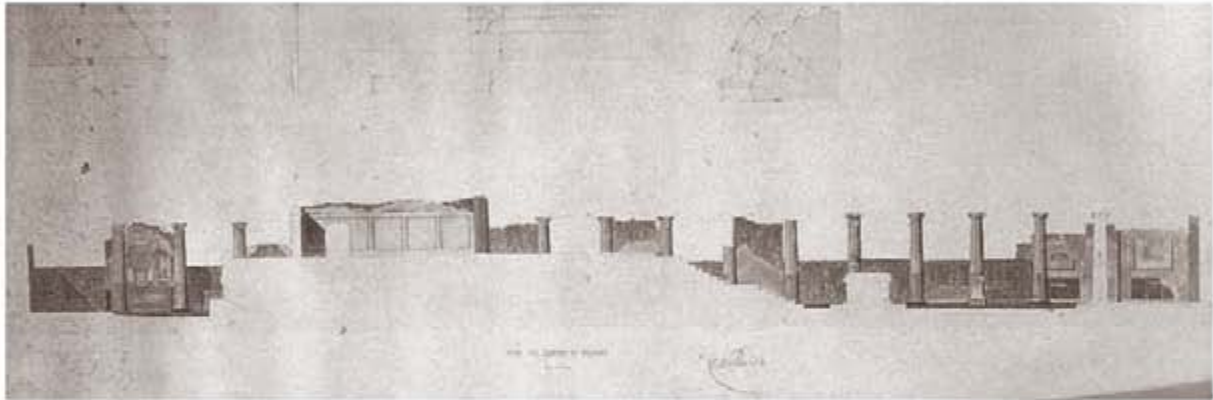


Fig. 25 Pompeii, Temple of Apollo, transsection of the portico, 1823 drawing by the French architect F.-E. Callet (from *Pompei* 1981, 148-148). For a colour version of this figure, see page 240.

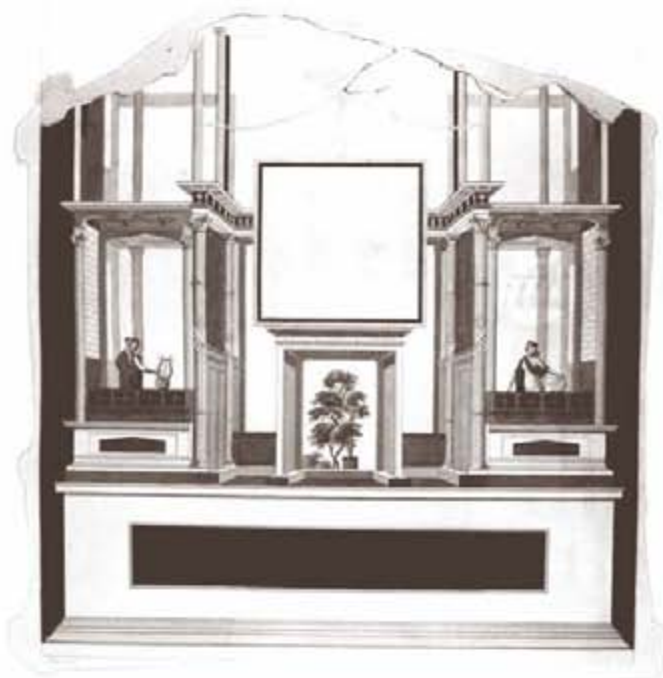


Fig. 26 Pompeii, Temple of Apollo, part of the wall painting in the portico, 1823 drawing by the French architect F.-E. Callet (from *Pompei* 1981, 148-148).

people making votive offerings and Pygmies in a quasi-Egyptian environment make up these small images (fig. 28), whereas the main scenes showed episodes from the Trojan War (figs. 29-35).

As has been argued previously, the documentation of these murals is rather scanty. This might be explained by the lukewarm response to the discovery which contrasted with the description of other paintings. As an example I refer to two of the greatest Pompeii experts of the period, John P. Gandy and Sir William Gell. They were especially disappointed by the combination of classical and exotic motifs in the complex:⁹⁹

This temple was erected at a period when the taste of Rome, tired of making useless prayers to the old divinities, had brought from Greece and Egypt mystery and superstition. The religion of Isis, Bacchus, Ceres, veiled in obscurity, had once become the cloak for the most degrading debauchery and inhuman orgies; but the attempt at extermination only served to incite the curiosity, and superinduce the renewal of rites so peculiarly congenial to the feelings of this people.

Gell's illustrations neither show much of the layout of the wall decorations nor of the details of the mythological scenes. By contrast, he describes several small scenes in his *Pompeiana* as vignettes and small-size illustrations,

⁹⁹ Gell and Gandy 1852, 155-56.

Fig. 27 Pompeii, Temple of Apollo, part of the wall painting in the portico, after AD 62 (from Rochette 1844, pl. 8).

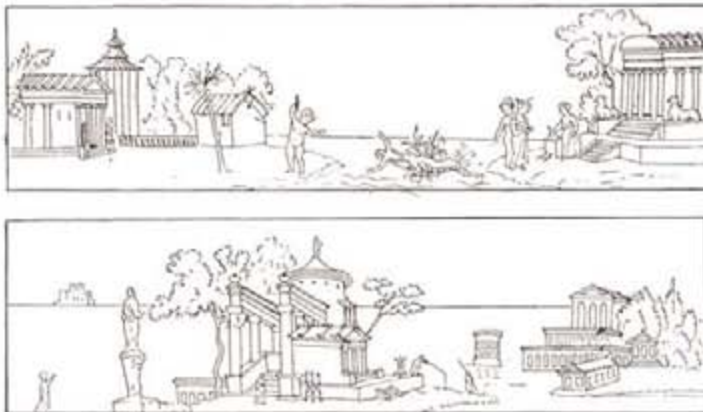


Fig. 28 Pompeii, Temple of Apollo, portico, landscapes with Pygmies, after AD 62 (from Reinach, *RP*, 377 nos. 5-6).

especially showing Pygmies and landscapes (see fig. 28).¹⁰⁰ Gell informs that the pygmies are the reason for the temple's nomenclature in early years.¹⁰¹ Gell's contemporary and illustrious Pompeii expert Mazois recorded more of the general outlook of the murals of the portico, for instance a complete wall section including the easel in the centre and girls sitting in niches at the sides (fig. 26).¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Gell and Gandy 1852, pl. 53-54 (overviews: nothing on the walls of the precinct), 55-62 (Pygmies and villas). From the *Iliad* scenes he records Achilles' struggle with Agamemnon and Achilles trailing Hector's corpse around the walls of

Troy; the former is illustrated as a vignette on p. 175.

¹⁰¹ Gell and Gandy 1852, 169.

¹⁰² Mazois 1838, 37-44, pl. XVI-XXIII.



Fig. 29 Pompeii, Temple of Apollo, portico, central scene, after AD 62: Achilles quarrels with Agamemnon (from Steinbüchel, pl. VIII).



Fig. 30 Pompeii, Temple of Apollo, portico, central scene, after AD 62: Achilles drags Hector's corpse (from Steinbüchel, pl. VIII).



Fig. 31 Pompeii, Temple of Apollo, portico, central scene, after AD 62: Achilles receives Priam (from Steinbüchel, pl. VIII).



Fig. 32 Pompeii, Temple of Apollo, portico, central scene, after AD 62: duel in the Battle of Troy in the presence of Athena (from Steinbüchel, pl. VIII).



Fig. 33 Pompeii, Temple of Apollo, portico, central scene, after AD 62: embassy to Achilles (from Steinbüchel, pl. VIII).

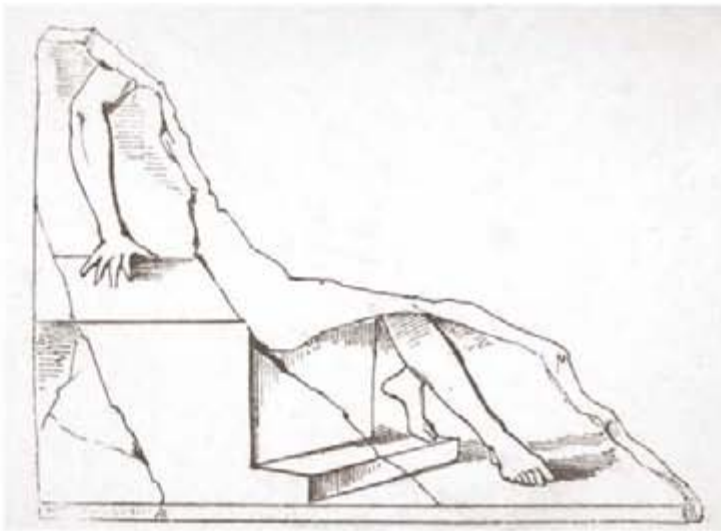


Fig. 34 Pompeii, Temple of Apollo, portico, unknown scene, after AD 62 (from Steinbüchel, pl. VIII).

The five scenes from the Trojan War recorded in the old documentation centre around the protagonist of Homer's *Iliad*, Achilles:¹⁰³

- 1) Achilles quarrels with Agamemnon (*Iliad* 1.188-218; fig. 29)
- 2) Achilles drags Hector's corpse behind his chariot around the walls of Troy (*Iliad* 22.396-404; fig. 30)
- 3) Achilles receives Hector's father Priam (*Iliad* 24.469-506; fig. 31)¹⁰⁴
- 4) Duel between two warriors in the presence of Athena (fig. 32)
- 5) Embassy of the Greeks to Achilles sitting in his tent or another scene (*Iliad* 9.162-642, esp. 185-191; fig. 33)
- 6) Unknown action on fragmented scene (fig. 35).

The iconography of numbers 4, 5 and 6 is not well defined.

¹⁰³ The longest descriptions are those by Helbig 1868: no.

266 (duel in the presence of Athena, possibly Achilles and



Fig. 35 Pompeii, Temple of Apollo, portico, central scene, after AD 62: scenes of figs. 30 and 32, watercolour by F. Morelli from 1818 (= *PPM Disegnatori*, 112-115). For a colour version of this figure, see page 241.

These and other themes from the *Iliad* frequently occur in Pompeian painting and, as we saw, also formed the décor of the Temple of Juno in Carthage (see Chapter 1). The hostile encounter between Achilles and Agamemnon is also known from a 'copy' in the House of the Dioscuri and from a wall mosaic in the House of Apollo.¹⁰⁵ The small number of six images, of which we know more or less the contents, forms the poor remains of probably some forty representations. This number can be calculated on the basis of the disposition of the panels in the quadriporticus (cf. fig. 25).¹⁰⁶ In comparison with the around eighty-five episodes in the greatest series conserved hitherto, that in the House of the Cryptoporticus from 40-30 BC, the Temple of Apollo pos-

Hector), no. 1306 (Achilles quarrels with Agamemnon), no. 1324 (Achilles hauling Hector), no. 1325 (restitution of Hector's corpse), p. 461-462 (embassy to Achilles, theft of the Palladion?). No synthesis in Bulas 1929, 77 (saying that he will not deal with the cycle), 136. He discusses the single scenes: 78 (Achilles debating with Agamemnon, fig. 33), 79-80 (embassy to Achilles or Kalchas' explanation of the wrath of Apollo; this interpretation by Brüning seems more plausible to him), 96 (Achilles with the corpse of Hector), 97-98 (Priamus visits Achilles; the 'Athena' might be a companion of Achilles), 106-107 (Diomedes duelling with Aeneas or duel of Achilles and Hector). All descriptions are based on the rare album of A. von Steinbüchel, no date, pl. VIIIB-VIIID, here figs. 29-35. His crude drawings have also been reproduced in Reinach *RP*, 167.5, 7 and 168.3, 6. Also see Dagmar Kemp-Lindemann's (1975) doctoral dissertation, which however lacks many illustrations. On p. 128-129 she wrongly assumes that the Agamemnon scene is preserved in the temple, calling the building Temple of

Venus. The Priam scene (p. 187) is also attributed to the Temple of Venus, whereas the other two representations have been left out. A. Kossatz-Deichmann, *Achilleus*, *LIMC* I (1981) 37-200; our series at p. 91 no. 387 (fallen warrior, possibly Troilos), 104 no. 428 (Achilles and Agamemnon), 106 no. 436 (unclear, maybe Odysseus' mission to Achilles or Kalchas explaining the reason of wrath of Apollo; because of Agamemnon's absence this interpretation unfortunately is not convincing), 113 no. 465 (mission to Achilles following Helbig 1868, 461-462), 152 no. 672 (Achilles receives Priam).

¹⁰⁴ See on this specific subject Giuliani 2003.

¹⁰⁵ See on this topic Trimble 2002, 225-248. For the mosaic in House VI 7, 23, eastern external wall of cubiculum 25, now Naples, Museo Nazionale, inv. 10006, see *PPM* IV (1993) 510.

¹⁰⁶ There must have been at least one panel per intercolumniation, as one may conclude from the documentation and reconstruction by the French architect Wilbrod Chabrol

sessed more or less half.¹⁰⁷ Vitruvius mentions *troianae pugnae* as ideal themes for the decoration of ambulatories (*ambulationes*). A Trojan War cycle painted by the Greek Theoros on a series of wooden panels belongs to works of art exposed in the Porticus Philippi in Rome. Pliny neither lists any of the themes depicted nor mentions where the panels come from.¹⁰⁸ The *nouveau riche* Trimalchio in Petronius' *Satyricon*, contemporary with paintings from the Temple of Apollo, has paintings with similar scenes in his house and he apparently follows Vitruvius' remarks from some seventy years before.¹⁰⁹

It has frequently been noted that literary themes in the private sphere were especially popular because the *domini* could show how well-educated they were and that they were able to conduct a learned conversation with their guests. At the same time several scholars have considered the figural scenes examples of standard elements within mural decorations, for which reason the iconography might be less meaningful in the evaluation of house decoration.¹¹⁰ In the Temple of Apollo, therefore, we might also ask whether the Trojan images were 'conversation pieces' or elements of the 'wall paper'. The architecture of the portico is that of Vitruvius' *ambulationes* and could give Pompeians the opportunity to engage in pleasant, erudite conversations. But, on a higher level, the decoration might enhance Apollo's position, like the murals in the Temple of Juno in Carthage: Achilles' κλέος is brilliantly represented and he serves as a paradigm for everyone.

However, it is questionable whether the Trojan theme had some specific relationship with Apollo because he does not play a rôle in the preserved scenes. In the 180 years since their discovery, only a few scholars have addressed this question. Some fifty years ago, Karl Schefold observed a preference for cycles with the Trojan myth in the first century BC, whereas the subsequent period was said to prefer single episodes. As late as the Neronian era one would once again encounter cycles which, according to Schefold, should match the contemporary fashion of written poems about Troy like the lost *Halosis Iliou* by the emperor Nero¹¹¹ and the fragment of a Troy poem by Eumolpus in Petronius' *Satyricon*.¹¹² In Schefold's view, the end of Troy should mark the announcement of a new era of peace, a renewal of the Augustan *aurea aetas* made possible by Nero. This might be true for images from that emperor's time like those in the Domus Aurea. As to the paintings in the Temple of

from 1867 (see *Pompei* 1981, 138-143, 331-339). That would bring a number of ten scenes on the northern wall, eight on the southern wall [with door] and eighteen on the western wall, whereas the eastern wall along the forum with its many doors would still have at least seven panels. Helbig 1873, 144 note 4 reports "die Spuren von mindestens elf grossen mit Rahmen umgebenen Wandbildern".

¹⁰⁷ For the House of the Cryptoporticus (I 6, 2) see Spinazzola 1953, 903-970, esp. 968-970 (calculation of the original number of Homeric scenes); PPM I, 201-222. On the popularity of these themes, see Meyboom 2007, 98.

¹⁰⁸ Vitruvius, *De arch.* 7.5.2-3; Pliny, *NH* 35.144 (= *Recueil Milliet* 1985, no. 518, with reference to the temple in Carthage, here p. 29-35, and Petronius): *Theoros ... bellumque Ilicum pluribus tabulis, quod est Romae in Philippi porticibus ...* - in a long list of artists and panel paintings. As to the location in Rome,

see A. Viscogliosi, *LTUR* IV (1999) 146-148.

¹⁰⁹ Petron., *Sat.* 29. It is generally accepted that the author Petronius is the same as Petronius Arbiter who in AD 65 participated in the conspiracy against Nero directed by Piso c.s. and was killed. See Courtney 2001, 5-11.

¹¹⁰ See Muth 1998 and De Angelis, Muth and Hölscher 1999.

¹¹¹ Suet., *Nero* 38.2 gives the Greek title, Tac., *Ann.* 15.39.3 mentions the rumor that Nero had sung about Troy during the great fire of AD 64. This gossip is presented as fact in the work of Cassius Dio (62.18.1).

¹¹² Petron., *Sat.* 89. Eumolpus gets his inspiration from a *tabula quae Troiae halosin ostendit* ('a painting showing the capture of Troy') and concentrates on the person of Laocoon. The fragment breathes the atmosphere of Virgil but might have been influenced by Nero, both in positive (imitation) and negative (parody) sense.

Apollo in Pompeii, a precise dating within the period 62-79 unfortunately cannot be established.¹¹³ The hero's persona is presented by Scheffold as an example of a suffering man afflicted by a gruesome destiny. Irene Bragantini on the other hand argues that the choice might be explained by Apollo's rôle in the founding history of Troy, but in that case the selection of the themes remains strange because the *Iliad* does not refer to that earlier history of the town.¹¹⁴

All gods, and hence also Apollo, have more or less influential positions in the poem about the Trojan War. Apollo sides with the Trojans, leads the movements of some important heroes and is thus capable of restraining bloodshed.¹¹⁵ In the first verses of the *Iliad* (1.8-16) he is connected to a conflict in the Greek camp between Agamemnon and Achilles concerning two girls. Agamemnon's booty, Chryseis, is the daughter of Chryses, a priest in the Temple of Apollo in the neighbourhood, who asks his master for assistance in getting back the girl. For many days Apollo spreads pestilence in the Greek camp, until the seer Kalchas explains the reason for the plague and Agamemnon dismisses Chryseis. Agamemnon now wants Briseis and despite Achilles' words of protest he gets her. Apollo plays a secondary rôle in this drama of jealousy; Achilles has right on his side and Agamemnon unjustly stands on his position as leader of the troops. Thanks to Apollo's influence, Troy remains free of the terror of the greatest Greek hero for a short while and so he indirectly helps the Trojans.

However, the main protagonist in the Trojan War is Achilles, by whose actions Troy will fall. His image

¹¹³ Scheffold 1975, 129-134. One reads on p. 132 about the later group: "Alle diese Bilder gelten mehr dem Glanz der Erscheinung, die durch Thetis so sichtbar unter göttlichem Schutz steht, als einem tieferen Begreifen des Wesens der Helden." On p. 134 the series of the Temple of Apollo is dated to the time of Claudius, whereas previously such cycles were dated to the Vespasian era. Simultaneously, a connection with Nero is made. Probably, the great connoisseur of Pompeian painting errs and instead of 'claudisch' should be read either 'neronisch' or 'flavisch'. Scheffold 1957, 192 has "Großartig neronisch".

¹¹⁴ I. Bragantini, *PPM Disegnatori* (1995) 112.

¹¹⁵ I recapitulate the interventions by Apollo in the *Iliad*. In 4.507-514 he incites the Trojans and shortly after he protects Aeneas against Diomedes (5.431-460). In a discussion with Athena, Apollo wants to assign the victory to the Trojans (7.17-53) and the gods decide that Ajax and Hector will fight a decisive duel. A nocturnal, not rather valiant, sortie brings Diomedes and Odysseus to the sleeping, unwary Thracian allies of Troy. Apollo awakes their leader Hippokoon to tell him about the gruesome murder of his men during this 'visit' (10.515-525). Thanks to a helmet given by Apollo, Hector resists a severe attack by Diomedes (11.349-353). Poseidon and Apollo try to destroy the Greek camp with water (12.1-35). Encouraged by Zeus, Apollo assists Hector and fills him with courage while leading him to the battleground (15.219-262). The Greeks feel disheartened by this successful attack and it is Patroklos wearing Achilles'

armour who enters the battlefield (16). In the emotional episode concerning the death of Sarpedon, Apollo carries his corpse away from the field, assisted by Hypnos and Thanatos (16.666-683). He resists Patroklos and speaks warning words to him and eagerly orchestrates his eventual death (16.707-709, 788-794). In 17.74-81 he warns Hector in the guise of Mentor. Apollo discusses with Poseidon (20.66-68) and incites Aeneas against Achilles (20.79-85). He advises Hector not to go into battle (20.375-378). Three of Achilles' attacks are resisted despite Athena's help to the Greeks (20.441-446). Shortly after, Poseidon challenges Apollo (21.435-468). Like Aeneas previously, Agenor is rescued from a duel with Achilles by Apollo, thus avoiding an untimely death (21.543-611). This deceit leads to Achilles' first verbal attack on Apollo (22.1-20). When the gods have to decide who must fall in the royal duel, Hector or Achilles, Apollo no longer has the means to influence the situation and abandons the Trojans (22.213). Achilles kills Hector, who predicts that Achilles will die by the hands of Paris and Apollo (22.359-360). While dragging Hector's corpse around the city, Aphrodite and Apollo ensure that Hector's corpse remains intact and undamaged (23.185-191, 24.18-21). Finally, Apollo is the only god to protest against this act of hauling and persuades the others to allow the restitution of the corpse to Priam (24.18-21, 33-54). Eventually, not in the *Iliad*, Paris kills Achilles with the assistance of Apollo.

becomes less positive in the course of the *Iliad*.¹¹⁶ Do we have to interpret the presence of Achilles in the portico of the Temple of Apollo as an example of a negative hero? Such an interpretation would correspond with the image of the god propagated by Augustus and his successors, that of a patron of the Roman people, thought to be a direct descendent of Aeneas. We ought not to forget the existence of numerous other images in the portico when discussing the presence of Achilles. A remark by Wolfgang Helbig from 1873 that the series might end with Aeneas' adventures in Italy is an attractive proposal, but nevertheless highly hypothetical. Although no remains are left, if true the series would stress the Trojan-Roman perspective and perfectly match the "*Anschaungen der damaligen Periode*".¹¹⁷

The only temple dedicated to Apollo with a comparable series of images showing the adventures of Achilles I know of is the Smintheion, the temple for Apollo Smintheus not far from Troy. The life of Achilles, mainly focusing on the Trojan War, is represented in reliefs on marble columns and friezes. The temple complex was constructed in the mid-second century BC. A meticulous study by Coşkun Özgünel makes clear that the location of the temple in Troy influenced the choice of the subject. He also shows that the selection of themes was not casual and Apollo plays a rôle in many of the scenes.¹¹⁸ According to tradition, Chryses had worked there as a priest.¹¹⁹ Simultaneously, the value of Achilles as an exemplary hero is certainly a factor that has to be taken into account (see *supra*).

One may ask whether the other imagery themes recorded in the old publications, like ships,¹²⁰ villae¹²¹ and Pygmies (fig. 28)¹²² could have formed a substantial part of the iconographic repertoire. One must note that their position on cornices and in smaller panels between architectural elements was secondary and that such images belong to the standard repertoire of the Fourth Style. Small panels with ships, mostly seen as representations of *naumachiae*, are present in a lot of other mural decorations after AD 62, e.g. in the Temple of Isis (see Chapter 7; fig. 79). Valeria Sampaolo and Luciana Jacobelli have reasonably argued that both series and the images of ships in the peristyle of the House of the Vettii might be attributed to the same painter or group of painters.¹²³ Could these scenes reflect historical sea battles¹²⁴ or are they mere genre scenes? The second alternative is more likely because of the observed secondary position within the decorative scheme, but in this specific temple context a political allusion cannot be dismissed. Sea battles had always played an enormous rôle in Roman history and had become part of that glorious history when the paintings were executed. The most famous maritime victory,

¹¹⁶ For an extremely cynical interpretation of the warlord Achilles in light of modern studies on acts of war and traumatic experiences see M.A. Wes, *Oorlog, geweld en agressie: oude Grieken en jonge Amerikanen*, *Groniek* 154 (2002) 69-92. The author endorses the observations of J. Shay, which surely are more easily available than the Dutch university periodical: J. Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam. Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character*, New York 1994.

¹¹⁷ Helbig 1873, 144.

¹¹⁸ Especially in the Chryseis scene (1.364-369, 430-441). Özgünel 2001. See also Özgünel 1990 and 2003; Bingöl 1990 and 1991; Ridgway 2000, 84-85.

¹¹⁹ Rumscheid 1995: this temple is not the shrine mentioned in the *Iliad* that was situated on the coast, as we know from Strabo 13.1.48. Strabo 13.1.63 and Pliny, *NH* 5.32 speak about a Smintheion rebuilt in the interior, which apparently must be the unearthed monument.

¹²⁰ Gell and Gandy 1852 do not have these representations. Cf.

Avilia and Jacobelli 1989, 138 no. 7-8, figs. 6-7.

¹²¹ Gell and Gandy 1852, 170, 171-172, pl. 55-56, 59-62; Reinach *RP*, 377.6; 380.4.

¹²² Gell and Gandy 1852, 169, 171, pl. 57-58; Helbig 1868, no. 1544 (four images); Reinach *RP*, 376.2-3; 377.5; Versluys 2002, 131-132, fig. 73.

¹²³ Sampaolo 1994; Sampaolo 1995; Avilia and Jacobelli 1989, 132-133. The attribution of the large representations of ships in the Suburban Baths by Jacobelli to the same master(s) is not tenable as the representations differ in style of painting, colours used, composition, iconography and format.

¹²⁴ Examples of reliefs belonging to victory monuments and tombs from the late Republic have been collected in Holliday 2002, 97-104. In general, one sees depictions of battle ships (esp. the *rostra*) instead of the battles themselves. The only sea battle depicted is that in corridor G of the Villa della Farnesina in Rome, seen as a reminiscence of Agrippa's victory at Naulochos (Berlan-Bajard 2006, 45, pl. II).

of course, was the naval battle on the shore of Actium on 2 September 31 BC. The god venerated at Actium is Apollo, the same deity worshipped in the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii.¹²⁵ Did the Pompeii painter decide to paint this scene or was it at the suggestion of unknown patrons? Jacobelli opts for a more nuanced interpretation, arguing that past naval battles brought peace and freedom and in the case of Pompeii they do not record a single event but a collection of battles. In this way the ships symbolize something more than pure decorative motifs. The impact of the victory near Actium might have diminished in the hundred years after the event and for that reason Jacobelli's caution is justified.¹²⁶ Considering that the motif is rather frequently used in Pompeian Fourth-Style painting, however, it is less probable that painters opted for specific themes, rather these themes formed one of the numerous banal filler drawings in murals of the period.

The landscapes showing villas and the representations of rural shrines have no specific meaning, unless that of underlining the Romans' increasing feeling of abundance and well-being as a consequence of the steady peace.¹²⁷

Finally, there are the Nilotic landscapes with Pygmies (fig. 28, top). On the basis of the thorough study by Miguel John Versluys about *Aegyptiaca Romana* one may conclude that such scenes (a) were omnipresent in the Roman world and (b) did not represent a realistic idea of black Africa in the eyes of the Romans. Originally, these scenes illustrated the abundance of nature, while the Pygmies were especially seen as symbols of fertility. In most cases one ought to see them like the *chinoiseries* of the eighteenth century and, hence, as pure decorative elements. Consequently, in the Temple of Apollo they did not contain a specific meaning or value.¹²⁸

Whereas the cella, as the house of the god, had to emanate a luxury befitting Apollo's status by imitating marble slabs, the porticoes were decorated with paintings similar to those in contemporary private houses. However, the choice of a series of adventures described in the *Iliad*, with Achilles as the protagonist, appears to be less indiscriminate than that of the decorative patterns. The strong emphasis on the dark sides of the hero and the hidden presence of Apollo – like the literary trope of the *praeteritio* – helped bring the visitors into contact with the healing and rescuing god. A political meaning behind Pygmies, seascapes and naval battles cannot be completely excluded, but is less explicitly formulated. Preferably, a reminder of the richness stimulated by Apollo might be postulated.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter discussed a wide range of sacral buildings in Roman Italy from the second century BC through the Imperial era. The buildings highlighted in the towns, with the exception of Rome, are more or less official cult buildings erected by municipal elites. As to the Republican period, we are dealing with decorations in the First and Second Style, all comparable to painted decorations in public buildings and houses and with the aim of enhancing the prestige of a building's interior. The stucco reliefs in the First Style decorations mostly cover both interior and exterior walls in tuff as well as temple podia and create a touch of costly decoration. By marking

¹²⁵ In the perspective of religious history this equation surely is false, because every locality and, in this case, every nation give different values to the same figures. As to the Imperial era there was a rather homogeneous point of view. Cf. Gagé 1955, 53 about the origins of the Pompeian Apollo which cannot be established. After Actium the Apollo of Actium is implemented all-over in the Empire, symbolizing the keeper of the new Troy (p. 520-523). Gurval 1995, however, is more cautious.

¹²⁶ On this topic see Gurval 1995.

¹²⁷ Cf. Lafon 2001, 285-290.

¹²⁸ Versluys 2002, 131-132 no. 053; 422-443; Clarke 2007, 87-107. About the Pygmies in the Temple of Apollo: M. MacKay, Pygmies and Apollo at Pompeii, *BAssMosAnt* 12, 1988-1990, 71 no. 340 (synopsis of an unpublished congress contribution from 1986): Pygmies are good luck charms, no specific relationship with Apollo is suggested in the few lines published.

the podia's mouldings imitating marble blocks and fluted columns on walls, people gave the illusion of marble construction. Fake galleries could be created in interiors with the addition of a row of columns in the upper section of the walls, e.g. at Fregellae, Populonia and Volterra. The introduction of such decorative details may have been made possible by the commercial contacts with the eastern Mediterranean.

Around 100 BC, the introduction of real marble building elements and other costly elements like mosaic floors is a remarkable feature that illustrates the Roman elite's desire to display precious building materials known from the conquered areas around the Mediterranean. Therefore, decorations in the Second Style were another medium by which this rich decoration was enhanced. First, architectural elements were no longer imitated in paint only, but the painters began to construct faux architectural features on the walls' surfaces. There was no difference between large public buildings and temples, whereas the rich *domus* of the upper class also displayed these wealthy wall paintings. In fact, the remains of temple decorations are extremely poor in quantity when compared to those in houses. It should be noted that Pompeii's relative opulence is a result of the archaeological record's bias. The temples in Brescia can be seen as the best examples of the decorative fashions popular in this period. Within these fake façades, figural motifs like those described in written sources would be appropriate. However, apart from traces of scenes in the Temple of Diana on the Aventine, there is little information, including garlands in Amplero and fabric coverings in Brescia.

One observes great changes in the imperial period, when the right to erect temples in Rome became the prerogative of the emperors. Marble was the main building material for this category of buildings and since marble as a rule was not covered with plaster and paint, paintings were a rare phenomenon in temple contexts. Therefore, little survives except for the shrine of Jupiter Conservator that follows the fashion of the day, namely the second quarter of the second century AD. This small monument was apparently not considered to be important enough to necessitate the use of marble. Its position next to the temple of Veiovis might even have required a sober, somewhat old-fashioned painted decoration.

In Roman Italy the data are less scanty than in Rome, although they are still not abundant. The classicizing mode of the early Third Style, which uses closed wall systems embellished with fine ornaments, is best known from the cities in Campania. However, it is also found in temples, for example the portico in Urbisaglia and the Temple of Bona Dea in Ostia. The figural motifs do not illustrate cult practice. The garden painting in one of the temples in Herculaneum is more or less contemporary and refers to Isis or Venus. As to the Fourth Style the introduction of fake marble veneer on the walls, e.g. at Breno and Herculaneum, forms a new means of suggesting the use of precious materials within the temples' cellae. We may compare it to the use of real marble in shrines where more money was available like the *Aedes Augustalium* in Herculaneum (see Chapter 6). Remarkably, the dossier of shrines after 100, after the end of the Fourth Style, is very meagre. This discrepancy needs an explanation beyond the usual reasons of poor preservation. When we look at the extensive number of non-public cult buildings, discussed in the ensuing chapters, we observe a great amount of Mithraea in exactly this period. The dearth of painted public temples then might be explained by the assumption that the previous fashion in Rome of erecting public temple buildings in marble, expanded widely outside Rome.

The surviving archaeological evidence in Rome stands in stark contrast to the data gathered from the literary sources in Chapter 1. The explored temples do not contain figural scenes illustrating the dedication of the building to a specific deity, neither do they celebrate a secondary dedication by some victorious military officer. There are no great differences in respect to the other parts of Italy, where in some cases the archaeological remains are even considerably richer than those in the *urbs*.

We treated Pompeii as a singular case on the basis of its exceedingly rich evidence. That apparent discrepancy does not mean that this small town shows great differences in respect to Rome and the rest of Italy in terms of the use of different decorative systems throughout Pompeii's history. Some Republican remains are preserved in the cellae of the temples of Apollo and Jupiter. Both show an austere decoration of orthostates and mouldings in the cella dating to the early first century BC. Both this temple and the Temple of Apollo still have second century BC, First-Style relief decorations on the exterior walls (possibly restored later in Pompeii's history). From the temple of Apollo we can make a limited study of the iconography. The scenes from the *Iliad* do

not have a direct relationship with Apollo, but can in certain ways be connected with this god. All other figural motifs (landscapes, still lifes, pygmy scenes) cannot be interpreted in a strictly Apollonian way, but belong to the repertoire of decorative elements used by painters.

APPENDIX: THE PORTICO OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO IN POMPEII

The monumental quadriporticus of the Temple of Apollo is generally dated to the late second century BC. John Dobbins, however, recently proposed a much more recent dating on the basis of an inscription. This states that the *aediles* Marcus Holconius Rufus and Gaius Egnatius Postumus had paid neighbours on the western side for blocking their view as a result of the erection of the precinct wall. Their activities must be dated to around 10 BC. Archaeological work is supposed to substantiate this idea and the wall runs over an ancient road track running south and ending on the street in front of the Basilica. That means that the area of the temple was enlarged considerably, so that the whole operation would correspond to the glorification of Apollo, the holy spirit of Augustus, in the form of an enlargement and further monumentalisation of the god's sanctuary.¹²⁹

By contrast, Andrea Martelli, Fabrizio Pesando, and Lorenza Barnabei believe that the construction of the portico around the temple building as well as the decorations of the cella can be dated to 144-142 thanks to a *titulus mummiianus*, an epigraphic commemoration of Mummius' victory in Corinth in 146 BC and the subsequent second *triumphus* in 145 BC, in which Pompeians had apparently been decisively involved. Some of the booty from the Greek war might even have been used to finance the rebuilding of the archaic temple, including the cella decorations and the addition of the portico.¹³⁰ Pesando points to similarities with Rome, namely the *Porticus Metelli* and the lozenge floor in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, both to be seen as a form of *imitatio urbis*. The terracotta decorative slabs found in the House of the Golden Bracelet could even stem from this decoration phase of the temple. Regarding our study, the chronology of the decorations mentioned, the first known in this complex, seems to firmly belong to this period. The motif of the portico as a place for collecting important objects, in the case of the *Porticus Metelli* treasures taken from Corinth, still inspired the decorators in the post-62 phase, when they arranged the figural scenes as paintings on easels. In my opinion, the *titulus mummiianus* provides strong proof for this interpretation and endorses the vision of the urban development of Pompeii fostered nowadays by most scholars. Further building interventions, as advocated by Dobbins, do not contradict this idea, although a possible enlargement of the temple's precinct is strange since the *templum* was well laid out around the temple building from the outset.

This discussion merits a brief digression since these data give the strong impression that they possibly shed new light on the House of the Faun and the Temple of Jupiter, where, as we have seen, the same motif of lozenges in perspective is an important element of the interior decoration. All date to the last decades of the second century. Moreover, the Ionic portico of the Temple of Apollo (part of the renovations in 144-142) is peculiar as the frieze is Doric and has metopes and triglyphs. This peculiarity has its counterpart in the large peristyle of the House of the Faun.¹³¹ Taking into account as the third element the important remains of First Style decora-

¹²⁹ Dobbins *et al.* 1998, 741, 756. Inscription: *CIL* X, 787, in all cases before 2 BC. See his figs. 1-2 for a reconstruction of the previous subdivision of the insulae and streets in this area. The house in question on the western side is VII 7, 2. See also Dobbins and Ball 2005, 61.

¹³⁰ Martelli 2002; Pesando 2006a, 233-234; Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006b, 18-20, 52-53; Barnabei 2007, 15-16; Wallace-Hadrill 200, 132, figs. 3.25-3.26. See succinct discussion in De Caro 1991, 33. The text (Vetter 1953, no. 61) runs:

L. Mummius. L. kúsúl, which means *L(ucius) Mummius L(ucii filius) consul*. The altar stands against the first column in the southeast corner of the portico (shown on the map in Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006b, 38). Van Andringa 2009, 117, 135-136 (dedication of statues of Apollo and other gods in the temple precinct). On Mummius and other *tituli mummiiani* in Italy Miles 2008, 73-75, esp. note 89.

¹³¹ Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 173 connects this peristyle with the Greek gymnasium.

tions in both complexes, one may think of a connection between the two temples and the palace-like residence along the Via di Stabia. An important, yet anonymous Pompeian follower of Mummius might have celebrated his success in the Temple of Apollo, constructing a typical podium temple and a new portico around it, following the new vogue of porticoes in Rome itself (cf. p. 37 note 97-98). *U. Kamp.* is one decade (or one generation) younger and he could have enhanced the connection by laying new floors in the cella, an imitation of the floor in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome, and in his private house, known as the House of the Faun. Even the Temple of Jupiter could have been embellished in this way by him or another Pompeian nobleman. My suggestion to connect both the dedicator of the *titulus mummius* and *U. Kamp.* with the House of the Faun is based on the presence of these three common features: the Ionic-Doric portico around the podium temple and in the large peristyle, the floor of lozenges in perspective in the cella and the *tablinum* and the lavish use of First Style decorations in both the temple and the house. The use of these features in the *fauces* and the *tablinum* of the House of the Faun – the richest house in Pompeii at the end of the second century – was meant to evoke the idea of a temple or enhance the sacred atmosphere in the private realm.¹³² The Temple of Jupiter displays two of these common aspects (floor and paintings) and might be the product of either the same *U. Kamp.* or another wealthy Pompeian citizen.¹³³ When we must assume, however, a restructuration of the House of the Faun at the beginning of the first century BC, including the construction of the second peristyle and the application of wall and floor decorations,¹³⁴ the distance between the 140s BC and this date may be too long to make a direct connection plausible. In that case the Temple of Apollo could have played a role as example for the patron of the expansion of the wealthiest house of Pompeii.

¹³² Zevi 1998, 34-35. The religious aspect is encountered by a visitor as early as the *fauces*, with its *lararium*-like small temples in stucco in the upper zones of the side walls (Zevi 1998, 26-28, fig. 4). M. de Vos (*PPM V*, 1994, 83-84) interprets the mosaic in the House of the Faun as an imitation of the *scutulatum* floor in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and refers to such a floor from the beginning of the first century AD in the Temple of Concordia on the Forum Romanum. The only, extremely short description of the temple, however, does not substantiate this idea (A.M. Ferroni, *LTUR I* (1993) 316-320, esp. 318). The Romanisation can also be seen in the presence of *HAVE* on the sidewalk in front of the entrance of the house (cf. Zanker 1995, 67: a type of self-Romanisation; Meyboom 1995, 167). See also Pesando

and Guidobaldi 2006b, 39-53. Meyboom 1995, 167-172, proposes the *gens Satria* as the owners of the House of the Faun on the basis of the inscription of a certain *V. Sadiriis V. aídil*, probably to be read as *Vibius Satrius Vibii filius aedilis*, in combination with the famous bronze statuette of the satyr, falsely labelled as the eponymous 'Faun'. On this inscription see also Vetter 1953, 20; Castrén 1975, 42-43, 216-217; Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006b, 49; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 136.

¹³³ In a certain way, at least one veteran of Sulla took possession of the shrine by installing a dedication, namely *L. Sextilius L. f.*, inhabitant of the House of the Labyrinth (*CIL X* 800; Stročka 1991, 135; Pesando 2006b, 86).

¹³⁴ Faber and Hoffmann 2009, 86-88, 103-109, Beilage 10.

4 Paintings in Provincial Roman Temples Across the Alps

Without claiming completeness, I present in this chapter those examples of paintings in temples found in the European provinces of the Roman Empire that have come to my attention. They have been arranged according to modern political borders.

In most cases, nothing but fragments of murals survives, but a few complexes allow the reconstruction of painting schemes and/or decorative programmes. In general, discussions of insignificant fragments have been left out. Many of the studies consulted are quite technical in nature in the sense of reconstructing the decorations on the basis of the fragments and through technical analyses of mortars and pigments and do not address the decorations in their religious context. In any case, it is often difficult to determine the religious meaning of the paintings because of the bad state of preservation of the remains of the buildings, especially when the buildings themselves no longer exist. Only rarely can the location of the paintings within the structures of the temple complex (e.g. shrine, podium or portico) be established. Occasionally we are lucky enough that the lowest parts of the walls have been preserved *in situ* and in these cases the remainder can be reconstructed by fitting together the many missing pieces.

From comparative studies of decoration in Roman temples in France, it follows that these paintings rarely contain references to the venerated gods or the cults practiced since they generally show marble imitations in the dado and series of panels, with or without architectural elements and candelabra, in the main zone and figural themes are extremely rare. This conclusion also holds true for the other provincial areas. The absence of figural scenes can be explained in various ways. First, the bad state of preservation of mural paintings across archaeological record accounts for the lack of figural scenes. Second, when decoration can be reconstructed, the presence of figures is rare in both public and private buildings, so that we may surmise a similar paucity of such elements in temples. The lack of good figure painters (*pictores imaginarii*) might be the most logical explanation for that, possibly because hiring such skilled craftsmen was more expensive than hiring *pictores parietarii*.

The temple complexes can be divided into two main groups: the indigenous ones, usually called Romano-Celtic or Romano-Gallic temples, and those constructed according to the models introduced from Italy.¹ The first category has a circular, octagonal or rectangular cella surrounded by a portico. The roof of the central feature mostly rises considerably over that of the ambulatory.² The 'Roman' temples in the provinces are (pseudo-) peripteral structures rising on a high podium; the Maison Carrée at Nîmes from the Augustan era is the most famous example of this type.³ These buildings could, furthermore, be surrounded by a wall or portico and the *templa* constituted by such a precinct often contained other religious monuments. All architectural elements (e.g. columns, cornices, etc.) could have painted decorations. Unfortunately, it is extremely rare that substantial remains, like those at Nîmes, are encountered in excavations. This explains why the study of the mural decora-

¹ As for temples in the provinces of northwestern Europe see Rodwell 1980; Trunk 1991; Fauduet 1993a; 1993b (inventory); Derks 1998, 131-213, 256-261 (lists of monuments); Van Andringa 2002. See also Bruneaux 1991; Goudineau, Fauduet and Coulon 1994. These studies do not discuss painted decoration.

² Gros 1996, 203. Cf. Fauduet 1993a. For a precise definition see D.R. Wilson in Rodwell 1980, 5-30. Wilson also discusses 'annexes' of various natures erected within the temple precincts.

³ Gros 1996, 122-198; Trunk 1991 for the provincial examples. Nîmes: Gros 1996, 157-159. No paintings were found here.

tions is so complicated, often the original context cannot be established because the murals are found as debris or as pieces scattered over a survey or excavaton area.⁴

At present, more than six hundred and fifty indigenous temples erected in the Roman era have been found in France, Luxembourg, Belgium, Switzerland and the German Rhineland.⁵ Isabelle Fauduet provides us with the following figures:⁶

	Paint coating	Chalk coating	Marble
Cella	135	10	8
Portico	077	16	3

This means that nearly one third of these indigenous temples have yielded remains of their original painted decorations. They cover cellae, precinct walls and porticos alike, albeit the latter much less.

BRITAIN

Painted decoration from temples has not been found in Britain in great numbers because relatively few cultic complexes have been excavated or extensively explored. Very few paintings have been preserved on the walls of shrines.⁷

The Romano-Celtic temple in Harlow explored in the late 1920s and, again, in the 1960s must have been richly decorated. Many plaster fragments were found in association with the foundations and surviving lower parts of the walls. Large amounts of plaster fragments were also found in rubbish pits. R.E.M. Wheeler dated the complex to the third or even fourth century AD. N.E. France and B.M. Gobel, on the other hand, distinguish three building phases, the first around 80, the second at the beginning of the second century, and the third around 200. The complex remained in use until the fourth century. These two authors give no information regarding decorative systems, they merely mention various colours. They also report some remains of tessellated floors.⁸

In the 1930s, a triangular temple was unearthed in Verulamium (St. Albans). It had three cellae whose exterior walls were covered with plaster. The altars in the interior bore traces of red paint which might suggest that decoration emulated marble veneer. The monument was erected in the time of Trajan and remained in use until the late third century AD. The deity worshipped here was probably Cybele.⁹

⁴ Horne and King 1980 gives a gazetteer of numerous temples. Under their category six decorative elements, among which paintings, are mentioned. See also Fauduet 1993a, 79-81; 1993b, 116.

⁵ Fauduet 1993a, 78-81; 1993b, 95.

⁶ Fauduet 1993a, 80; 1993b, 116. "*La nature du revêtement des murs est signalée sur un cinquième des édifices* [so out of her sample of 653 temples, p. 95]. *La plupart des revêtements sont des enduits peints, surtout visibles sur les murs de la cella, plus rarement sur les parois extérieures de la galerie.*" The collection is catalogued into a database by Patrice Arcelin (p. 95).

⁷ Almost nothing can be found in the corpus of wall paintings in Britain: Davey and Ling 1981, 45-46 ('context'), where

Pagans Hill, Somerset, and Uley, Gloucestershire (see *infra*), are recorded. On Roman temples in Britain see Lewis 1967, with mention of painting and marble veneer on pp. 33-34. M. Henig, *Art and Cult in the Temples of Roman Britain*, in Rodwell 1980, 91-113 discusses many instances of sculptural decoration but excludes paintings. See also Rodwell 1980, 212, 221-232. I leave out the 'Christian rooms' in the Lullingstone villa (see Davey and Ling 1980, 138-145 no. 27).

⁸ Wheeler 1928; France and Gobel 1985, 31, 32, 35, 38, 39-40.

⁹ Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 113-120, pls. XXVI. XXXIV; Bogaers 1955, 97; Lewis 1966, 67-69.

Two further temples which have been explored with comparative thoroughness can be examined in more detail. At Uley (Gloucestershire) a Romano-Celtic temple was erected in the early second century on the remains of a previous *fanum*. Mercury was the god venerated here. Several fragments of plaster were recovered during the excavations and a partial reconstruction suggests the presence of marbling in the dado (colours include pink and grey) and panels above.¹⁰ As to dating, the paintings themselves give no clue, but the archaeological context points to the early second century.¹¹ At Nettleton (Wiltshire) plaster was found *in situ* on the interior walls of an octagonal shrine. Unfortunately, no decorative scheme could be completely reconstructed. The excavators found mainly white and red fragments and pieces belonging to frames and flowers (garlands?), most likely from a panel decoration. This octagonal building was erected after a fire in 249 and was dedicated to Apollo, as is clear from the votive offerings.¹² The most notable find was a fragment of a painted male head on a concave surface. This may have belonged to the decoration on the cella's vaulted ceiling. Identification of the head as that of Apollo himself is an attractive possibility but has to remain uncertain as there is no evidence to substantiate it.¹³

Fragments of plaster were found in the remains of a Roman temple in Greenwich (southeast London). In his survey of the Greenwich remains, Gary Brown, supplies the following brief report, relying on explorations by A.D. Webster in 1902:¹⁴

The walls were adorned with painted plaster, large quantities of which were located across the excavation area (...). The decorative scheme included figurine and floral designs and a number of colours: reds, black, brown, purple and white. It has been recorded by the VCH that a fragment of green porphyry was also located and probably formed part of a wall veneer, though there is no evidence of this find in the catalogue of finds at the Borough Museum, nor in the list of finds recorded by Webster (...).

Other decorations may have included columns, not of stone, but of circular bricks rendered with plaster and painted with a marble effect. The latter is supposition as only circular tiles have been recovered (Webster).

This exiguous information suggests panel decorations above a dado of marble incrustation. The figural and floral elements may have adorned the panels. As to the columns, they are not connected with the walls (as the text seems to suggest), since the 'circular bricks' indicate free-standing columns constructed, in accordance with a common Roman building technique, of brick drums covered with a coat of stucco to give them the appearance of white marble. Regarding the temple's chronology some additional research was carried out in the 1970s, resulting in the identification of two main phases: (1) c. AD 100, (2) replacement by a more substantial structure in the mid-third century.¹⁵

A very late temple is the rectangular, basilica-like building at Lydney Park, explored in 1928-1929. The complex was dedicated to Nodens, an otherwise unknown god, and comprised a building called an *abaton*, a sort of hotel and a bath building. The excavator mentions some remains in the cella, still *in situ*, "painted green and speckled crudely with black", probably imitation marbling like *serpentino* or green porphyry in the dado. In

¹⁰ Elisabeth James in Woodward and Leach 1993, 184-188. See also A. Ellison in Rodwell 1980, 305-320 (no paintings); on its cult statue M. Henig, *ibidem*, 321-326.

¹¹ Woodward and Leach 1993, 310-316, figs. 212-213 (reconstruction). Colour plate II opposite p. 312 has an implausible decoration, with pink and grey zones in the lower section without frames but adorned with a single lozenge, and red and yellow oblong panels, sometimes with garlands, in the main zone, whereas the upper parts of the walls are left bare.

¹² Wedlake 1982, 36 (dating), 40, 48, pl. XLII (*in situ*). E.W.

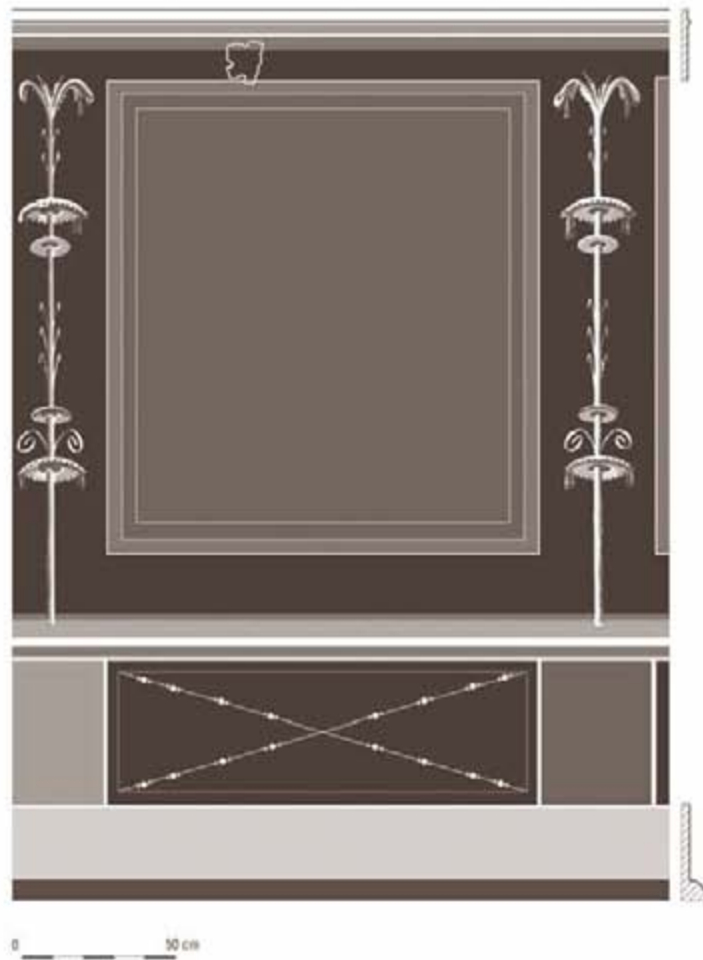
Richardson, *ibidem* 182-188 (description of the fragments).

¹³ Wedlake 1982, 51-52, pl. XLIIb.

¹⁴ Brown 2002, 303, 304.

¹⁵ Further excavation was carried out in 1999 under the aegis of Birkbeck College, University of London, and the "Time Team" crew (a television programme), when a fragment of an inscription was found. The results were very limited: see *Current Archaeology* 167 (March 2000) 440. This information has kindly been provided by Roger Ling.

Fig. 36 Elst, reconstruction of the murals in the cella of the second Gallo-Roman Temple, end first century AD (Bogaers 1955, pl. 22).



a second phase, though probably not much later in time, the building was restored and embellished by panels. The main surfaces were red and yellow but other colours are also recorded. This phase also saw the insertion of a lavishly decorated mosaic floor.¹⁶ The whole sequence at Lydney was dated between 364 and 367 on the basis of coins found there by the excavator R.E.M. Wheeler. New explorations in the early 1980s, however, have made it clear that the complex must have been constructed in the second half of the third century. The dates proposed by Wheeler probably relate to the time of abandonment. The new chronology relies on a re-assessment of the coin evidence.¹⁷

THE LOW COUNTRIES

Apart from a temple in Elst (fig. 36), there are very few traces of decoration from the few temples in the area comprised by the modern states of Belgium and The Netherlands.¹⁸ As these finds are nothing more than tiny fragments of plaster fallen off the walls, no conclusions can be drawn about decorative systems.

¹⁶ Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, 24 (citation), 27.

¹⁷ Casey and Hoffmann 1999. Here nothing on mural decorations.

¹⁸ As far as I know, Luxembourg has no temples with paintings from the Roman era, apart from Dalheim (see Cabuy 1991, 265-267, but no paintings mentioned). For an overview Fauduet 1993b, 37. Cf. Cabuy 1991.

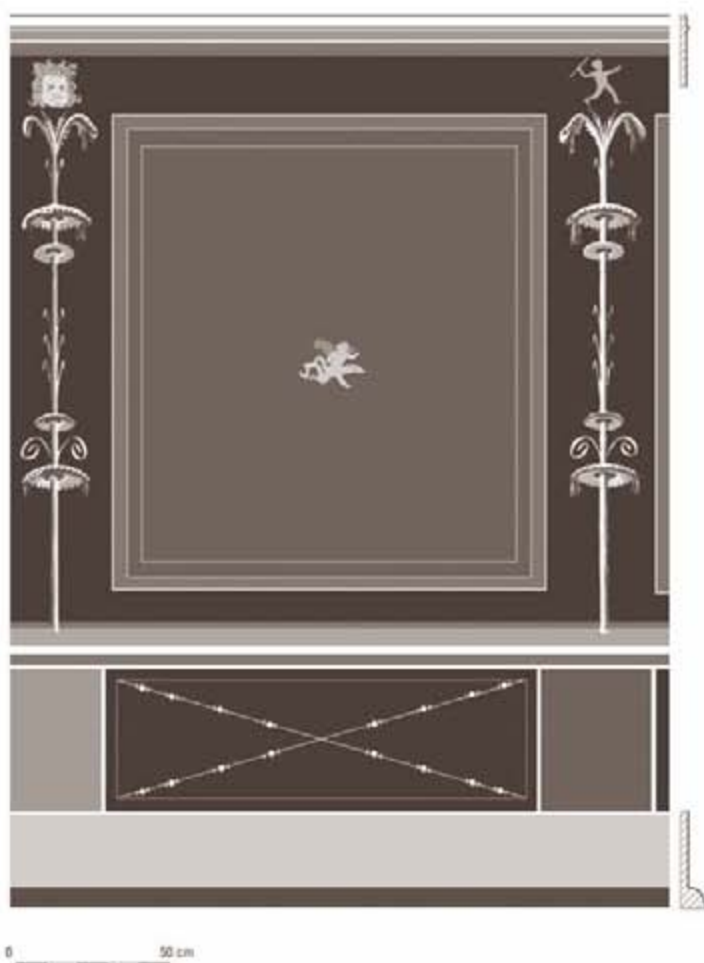


Fig. 37 Elst, reconstruction of the murals in the cella of the second Gallo-Roman Temple, end first century AD (©Ton Derks).

The temple in Elst, referred to in the introduction as being the incentive for my study, remains the exception to the rule.¹⁹ In his excellent 1955 PhD research, Jules Bogaers examined the fragments of wall painting from the temple. Bogaers distinguished two phases of use, each with its own decoration. The cella and probably the exterior walls and those of the surrounding portico were decorated in both phases.²⁰ The Phase II decoration in the cella can be visualised almost completely. It consists of a panel decoration with candelabra in the separating bands above a dado with marble imitations (fig. 36). The upper zone is unclear, Peter Weterings has made clear recently that some figural elements - which were entirely absent according to Bogaers - may be reconstructed in the shape of vignettes on the panels and acroteria on top of the panels (missing in the drawing, fig. 37).²¹ The tops of the candelabra, however, seem to lack the usual umbrellas, whereas the height of the panels in respect to their breadth might be larger. In sum, the reconstruction as a whole appears rather inelegant.

Bogaers dated the second phase to the Flavian era and connected it with the pact signed after AD 70 between the Romans and the Batavi.²² Research carried out in 2002-2003 by the Free University at Amsterdam in the area

¹⁹ Still fundamental, Bogaers 1955. See also Horne and King 1980, 405; Rodwell 1980, fig. 1.4; Trunk 1991, 18, 8-190; Gros 1996, 200 fig. 238; Van Enkevort and Thijssen 2005 (mainly on a second Gallo-Roman temple explored in 2002). For the most recent explorations see Derks et al. 2008.

²⁰ Bogaers 1955, 91-95, 124-125, pl. 20 (Temple I); 95-104,

125-134, pl. 21-24 (Temple II).

²¹ P. Weterings in Derks et al. 2008, 92-98, pls. 6-8. Before this publication, we discussed his research carried out for his 2004 MA thesis, Free University at Amsterdam. I thank Peter Weterings and Ton Derks for the permission to include the new reconstruction in this publication.

²² Bogaers 1955, 194.

of the temple resulted in a re-evaluation of this chronology. Phase II was redated to the end of the first century AD, as evidenced by a dendrochronological analysis of wooden foundation poles dating to the year 97.²³ Thus, the old historical reasoning about the foundation is no longer valid. Ton Derks and his team argue that there was a connection with the emperor Trajan, who was very active in this region and bestowed city rights upon Ulpia Noviomagus (Nijmegen). Hence, the complex must have been constructed at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century AD as a result of these new impulses along the northern limes by Trajan. It was in use until the middle of the third century. The temple was the largest of its type in the northern parts of the Roman Empire. Bogaers had suggested that it would have been dedicated to Hercules Magusanus, the local embodiment of a Batavian god and the Roman Hercules and this seems to be substantiated by subsequent finds of simultaneously erected temples at Empel (see *infra*) and Kessel.²⁴ Hercules Magusanus clearly was the main divinity in this and other sanctuaries erected by the Batavians.²⁵

When we look at the decoration, this new dating proposal is by no means problematic. Until now, it was thought that Elst had initiated a trend of decorating walls with panels separated by candelabra. This process lasted for decades. Such decoration is present across the northwestern part of the Roman Empire from the Flavian until the Trajanic era. As a result of this new dating, Elst can no longer be considered a pioneer but rather as having one of many examples of candelabrum-decorated walls that were fashionable around 100.²⁶

At Empel, a village not far from the capital of the province of Noord-Brabant, 's-Hertogenbosch, remains of a temple for Hercules Magusanus were explored in 1990. The cult place existed from circa 100 BC onward and was first used by the local tribe of Eburones and later by the Batavi. In the late Flavian or early Trajanic period a monumental complex was constructed and the temple assumed the shape of a Gallo-Roman temple, similar to that in Elst. At the end of the second century it was destroyed by fire and cult practices ended altogether around AD 235.²⁷ The excavation brought to light debris, including stone fragments, *opus signinum* floors and pieces of painted plaster.²⁸ The latter fragments show mainly red, but also white, green and purple surfaces which should belong to simple panel decorations. One fragment displaying an imitation of *giallo antico* might be part of a dado decoration. The dating was proposed in accordance with the traditional chronology of the temple in Elst,²⁹ but it seems rather likely that this is no longer tenable.

The western quarter of Nijmegen, along the river Waal, was the location of Noviomagus Batavorum, a civil settlement raised to the status of *municipium* under Trajan. Remains of two temples were identified as early as the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. These are broadly dated to the second century, i.e. during the era when this settlement flourished. The remains on the Maasplein were again explored in 1992-1993. Fortuna

²³ T. Derks in Van Enckevort and Thijssen 2005, 28 and *passim*; Derks et al. 2008, 33-34, 43, 136-138.

²⁴ Derks 1998, 112; Roymans 2004, 144 (biggest temple), 144 note 369 (dating). The Temple of Kessel is known from a large number of stone fragments of columns and lintels, partly decorated with scrolls, found in the river Meuse. For a discussion and a reconstruction see Roymans 2004, 134-144, figs. 717-723. Although Kessel has not yielded paintings, the site is a key monument in our understanding of the situation, as is pointed out by Roymans.

²⁵ For a synopsis of the evidence see Roymans 2009. Cf. Roymans

2004 and Derks et al. 2008, 138-139. On Hercules as a Batavian god see Roymans 2004, 235-250.

²⁶ See Barbet 2008, 257-259. About candelabrum walls see Thomas 1995, 234-237; Goggräfe 1999, 83-95; Willburger 2004, 41-44; L. Laken, J. de Mol and R. de Kind in Bragantini 2010, 535-536. Bogaers' own comparanda (1955, 132) give later dates.

²⁷ Roymans and Derks 1994, 17-25, 26 (Hercules); Derks 1998, 112-113, 149, figs. 4.6-7.

²⁸ Roymans and Derks 1994, 47.

²⁹ Roymans and Derks 1994, 47-48.

(identified via a fragment of votive altar with her name) and Mercury were venerated in these shrines, whereas a temple for Jupiter has not yet been located.³⁰ Nothing but single fragments of wall paintings are known. The quality of the pieces stored in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden is extremely high: the plaster is fine-grained and hard and the surfaces are very smooth.³¹

In the small village of Rijsbergen near the town of Breda in the western part of the province Brabant an indigenous goddess called Sandraudiga was venerated in the second and third century AD. The tiny painting fragments which must come from her temple do not allow for a reconstruction of the decorative schemes. It is also impossible to reconstruct their position within the building.³²

Several temple complexes have been found in Belgium.³³ The temple in Tongres, ancient Atuatuca Tungrorum and central place of the Tungri, had a peripteral Italic shape and rose on a platform. The god venerated is unknown, but might be Mercury.³⁴ Next to fragments of marble, pieces of black-painted plaster belonging to the cella decoration were unearthed. The date of the complex is the late first or the beginning of the second century AD, with interventions at a later date.³⁵

The site of Matagne-la-Petite near Namur, ancient Namurum, has remains of two temples. The interior sides of Temple B's cella walls have remains of a red dado, whereas on the outer sides marble veneer was imitated with greyish, yellow and red panels.³⁶ The complex was built in the middle of the second century on the site of an older indigenous sanctuary and remained in use throughout the third century. A temple in its vicinity, at Matagne-la-Grande, had a shrine with a surrounding portico decorated with white, green and black panels above a red plinth.³⁷

GERMANY

Several examples of temples with decorations have been recorded in the modern corpora of wall painting finds by Renate Thomas (Cologne) and Rüdiger Gogräfe (northern part of *Germania Superior*), whereas the southern area along the Danube *limes* had been explored as early as 1956 by Klaus Parlasca and more recently by Nina Willburger.³⁸

³⁰ Bogaers 1955, 26-28 (Ulpia Noviomagus I), 28-30 (Ulpia Noviomagus II); Horne and King 1980, 442; Van Enckevort and Thijssen 1996, 77-80; Derks 1998, 201, 206; Van Enckevort, Haalebos and Thijssen 2000, 75-81 with a colourful reconstruction on p. 65; Ton Derks in Van Enckevort and Thijssen 2005, 23 with illustration. On Noviomagus Roymans 2004, 208-209 and *passim*. Almost nothing in Willems and Van Enckevort 2009, 73-74 (construction by the Tenth Legion), 129-134 (cults), 133.

³¹ Moormann 1984, 61-64. It is not really certain whether they belong to one or to both temples.

³² Bogaers 1955, 34-37; Moormann 1982, 164-165; Derks 1998, 166. On the goddess J.B. Keune, *RE I A1* (1920) 2268-2269.

³³ On temples in Roman Belgium see: Mariën 1980, *passim*; Wightman 1985, 177-187; Cabuy 1991, with decoration briefly discussed on p. 115. Lists in Fauduet 1993b, 36 (map) and Derks 1998, 256. On Roman paintings in Belgium, Delplace 1990. Here two examples not specified in the following: Velzeke-Steenbeke (eastern Flanders): Delplace 1990,

14, cat. 36; Luttre-Liberchies-Les Bons Villers (Hainout): Delplace 1990, 18-19 cat. 52.

³⁴ Horne and King 1980, 473; Cabuy 1991, 252-255.

³⁵ J. Mertens, *KJ* 9 (1968) 101-106; Horne and King 1980, 473; Trunk 1991, 217-218; Derks 1998, *passim* (see his index p. 319). Not in Delplace 1990.

³⁶ Delplace 1990, 48, cat. 134. On the temple: Horne and King 1980, 431; Cabuy 1991, 234-240; Derks 1998, 176; De Boe 1978; 1979 (nothing about paintings).

³⁷ Delplace 1990, 48, cat. 133.

³⁸ Parlasca 1956; Thomas 1993; Gogräfe 1999; Willburger 2004. See also the list in Derks 1998, 260-261. For the Rhineland see also the map in Fauduet 1993b, 37. Renate Thomas (1993), however, includes almost no temple paintings (p. 317: Gallo-Roman temple in Insula A/7) and these cannot be analysed more thoroughly. Cologne, therefore, is excluded from this overview (see Trunk 1991, 196-204). The same applies to Xanten (see Trunk 1991, 230-237), where the only painting finds hitherto published come from houses: Jansen, Schreiter and Zelle 2001.

The most northern example is Kornelimünster, not far from Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), where fragments of plaster were found in the 1960s and 1970s in a sanctuary called Varnenum. The few notices speak about remains *in situ*, showing a winged horse, whereas pieces in many colours were retrieved during a field survey.³⁹ The shrine, of which substantial remains of the foundation have come to light, must have been dedicated to the local god Varneno and goddess Sunuxsal. Ceramics date the temple to the late first and the early second century.

Panels separated by candelabra adorned one of the three cellae in three separate buildings in a Gallo-Roman temple complex at Brachtendorf near Koblenz excavated in 1927-1928.⁴⁰ The mural decorations belong to the type of panel decorations known from Elst. Gogräfe stresses their quality, as evidenced especially by the figural details of the candelabra. The dado contained panels filled with plants. There is no iconographic connection between the Matrona cult and the decoration. The candelabrum motifs (craters, floral and animal motifs) point to prosperity, hoped for by the people thanks to the help of the Matronae.⁴¹ No information is available on the chronology of the decorations but they might be contemporary to other instances of *Schirmkandelaber* decorations from the late first century AD similar to the ones from Elst (fig. 36-37).⁴²

Oskar Peret has studied traces of a small sanctuary for Mercury found in 1924 in Cannstatt (now a suburb of Stuttgart). The sanctuary, located along one of the public roads, consisted of a niche with a statue. Some fragments of paintings could be attributed to the decoration of this niche. A floral frieze - that should be dated to the Fourth Style - ran under the dome which contained other floral motifs on a white background.⁴³ The open-air aedicula was flanked by a relief showing Diana and a Jupiter column. It is likely to have formed a clear example of a private cultic monument set up by a thankful worshipper.

A temple in Augsburg, ancient *Augusta Vindelicum*, was first explored in 1920. The front hall has decorative elements which have been partly reconstructed and are now in the municipal museum. These finds were found in an area called "Beim Pfaffenkeller 3." The main zone consists of panels separated by columns enclosed at the top by an ovolo. The appearance of the dado and the upper zone is unknown. The paintings probably date to the early second century AD, the most prosperous period of Roman Augsburg.⁴⁴ Parlasca stresses the correspondence with the secular interiors of houses.⁴⁵

Faimingen-Phoebiana on the Danube, not far from Augsburg, still bears the name of Phoebus Apollo, who was worshipped there during the second and third centuries AD. Excavations brought to light the remains of a temple for the local god Grannus, romanised as Apollo. The temple rises on a podium and has a shape derived from Roman examples as well as a 'classical' portico. The building is *sine postico*.⁴⁶ The evidence was good enough for the excavators to reconstruct the portico's wall paintings: over a red dado with a marble imitation there were green, yellow and possibly lilac panels that were separated by stylised candelabra like those at Elst.

³⁹ D. Haupt, *BJ* 172 (1975) 526-530, esp. 526 [find report]; Horne and King 1980, 424; Trunk 1991, 204-206; Cabuy 1991, 220-223.

⁴⁰ The data have never been published. See Horne and King 1980, 389; Gogräfe 1999, 217, 276-278, cat. 96, figs. 161, 204, 205.

⁴¹ Gogräfe 1999, 217, with numerous references. He suggests a connection between the motif and the idea of *aurea aetas* (pp. 121-122).

⁴² At Pommern, not far from Koblenz, fragments of comparable paintings must have been found: Horne and King 1980, 449-450; Gogräfe 1999, 466.

⁴³ Paret 1925, 6-12, esp. 11-12, figs. 14, 16. Briefly also Paret 1932, 56, pl. VI.1 (on the site p. 292).

⁴⁴ See Willburger 2004, 24-26 for an overview of Augsburg's Roman history.

⁴⁵ Parlasca 1956, 25, pl. 17: "*Die Malereien des Künstlerhoftempels haben demnach einen Charakter, der keinen Hinweis auf die sakrale Bestimmung des Bauwerks enthält.*" He refers to the temple in Elst (cf. Bogaers 1955, 7). See Thomas 1995, 289, fig. 221; Willburger 2004, 97-98, pl. 17.3. Location: *ibidem* 30, fig. 3, no. C.

⁴⁶ Trunk 1991, 190-192; Eingartner, Eschbauer and Weber 1993, 66 with comparisons. Dating to "Phase 3", i.e. (p. 61) shortly after the middle of the second century. About Apollo Grannus who was venerated here, see Eingartner, Eschbauer and Weber 1993, 122-136 and Willburger 2004, 107.

In the upper zone, garlands hung on oblong panels of various colours.⁴⁷ It is clear that this decoration does not differ from trends in private houses, thus implying a lack of cult-specific elements. The choice of this panel decoration in these long walking corridors is practical since it is a paratactic system that can be elongated as much as needed according to the dimensions of the walls to be decorated. Unfortunately, a more precise dating cannot be established.

In the village of Hochscheid (Kreis Bernkastel-Wittlich, not far from Trier) in Rheinland-Pfalz remains of a temple with a spa and dedicated to Apollo Grannus and Sirona were found as early as 1939, but a final publication was not presented before 1975, after new excavations in the 1960s. The rural sanctuary consisted of a Gallo-Roman temple and some hotel-like structures where pilgrims could find shelter, whereas the bath complex offered both medical and hygienic services. It was in use between the middle of the first and the end of the third century AD.⁴⁸ Fragments of mural paintings were found in all buildings. A part of the bathhouse's decorative system, showing a speckled dado with the imitation of a marble veneer and black and red panels, was reconstructed by Gerd Weisgerber. The main zone in this reconstruction shows a sort of checkerboard, but a series of standing panels is much more plausible.⁴⁹ The decorations do not contain any iconographic reference to the two local gods, who had specific healing qualities and were therefore venerated in this peculiar spa.⁵⁰

The numerous temples and votive monuments in the Altbachtal area in Trier, south of the 'imperial baths', which were in use during the entire imperial era, must have possessed many murals. In the publication by Siegfried Loeschcke, however, the reader finds only short references to the red painted surfaces of the outer walls of temples nos. 12, 25, A, GII and H. The Vorio pillar had a yellow panel with brown vertical lines.⁵¹ Erich Gose, who directed the excavations between 1926 and 1932, completed the final publication before his death in 1971. There he lists some more buildings with plaster. The reader easily understands why so little has been preserved: the area was radically destroyed by a fire in AD 275 and the later constructions fell prey to incursions and destructions. The remains visible during the explorations, but now no longer extant, are mainly substructions in local stone and rarely include the higher parts of the walls, and in those cases only the lowest sections. If plaster fragments had been found among the debris, Gose did not include them in his descriptions of the single buildings.⁵²

At Tawern, at a short distance from Trier, the existence of four Gallo-Roman temples has been established. The small amount of fragments of painted plaster discovered in the cellae does not permit a reconstruction of the wall decorations, but it is likely that there was a series of panels in the main zone. The external walls and the precinct of the complex had the same type of murals. The complex was dedicated to Mercury and remained in use during the third and fourth century AD.⁵³

⁴⁷ Eingartner, Eschbauer and Weber 1993, 210-216, pl. 66-67. Also mentioned in Goggräfe 1999, 217.

⁴⁸ Weisgerber 1975, 12-47. Chronology and interpretation: pp. 79-101. See also Cabuy 1991, 289-293.

⁴⁹ Weisgerber 1975, 186-189, pls. 35-37 (the latter has the reconstruction).

⁵⁰ On the gods Weisgerber 1975, 102-110.

⁵¹ Loeschcke 1938, 135 (in the second volume of 1942 no paintings are recorded or discussed). Cf. Bogaers 1955, 97; Horne and King 1980, 475-481.

⁵² Gose 1972, 7 (building 76a, dedicated to Fortuna and Casus or Cassus); 21 (building 4, shrine of Mercury: yellow dado and red surface over it) 28 (building 6, temple of Ritona);

38-40 (building 3, Vorio Pillar); 82 (building 12, 'Temple with stucco'); 86 (building 24, 'Mother chapel'); building 45 (Rotunda); 137 (building 38, Temple with peripteros: mosaic and marble veneer); 143 (building 40, Chapel M: inside marble veneer, outside stuccoed). See on the excavations' history R. Schindler in Gose 1972, VIII-XIII. The same author gives a good summary of the whole work, namely chronology, plan of the area, and gods venerated (*ibidem* 261-277).

⁵³ Faust 1999. In the reconstruction of the cella of the largest temple, a wall painting from a house in Verulamium has been used as example, which is rather deceiving (pp. 32-36, figs. 3-4: panel decoration). See also Cabuy 1991, 341-343.

Remains of two temples were excavated in the early twentieth century next to the villa of Otrang near Bitburg and Trier. The discovery of wall paintings that once decorated the cellae was duly reported, but no further documentation is at hand.⁵⁴ As to the venerated gods, Mercury, Diana and Mars are mentioned on the basis of the finds, which, however, are not conclusive.

When Postumus was declared emperor in 259 at Krefeld, he struck coins with Hercules Deusoniensis, apparently in tribute to the local god venerated here. Remains of a temple were found on the left bank of the Rhine in the 1980s and it seems to have been erected in the middle of the second century AD over an existing precinct with a holy tree. In the middle of the third century, large-scale reconstruction and redecoration work was carried out as becomes clear, from among other things, the lavish paintings found. It is tempting to link this reconstruction and immediate destruction afterwards to the usurper Postumus. The fragments of paintings were found amidst the debris and show elements of architectural framing.⁵⁵

The last pagan shrine that is of interest in this German context was found in 1923 in the Hennebergstraße at Bingen. Gogräfe proposed that the beautiful imitation of green porphyry slabs over a black dado, with red bands and giallo antico additions, date to the late third century. It is clear that these murals do not betray anything about the character and function of the building they adorned.⁵⁶

SWITZERLAND

Like in Germany, several Swiss complexes where fragments of painted decorations have come to light that were only summarily published or not at all, whereas these plaster pieces remained – and mostly remain – utterly neglected.⁵⁷ Roman Aventicum (Avenches Vd) has two temples from which remains of paintings are known. The temple in La Grange du Dôme (or La Grange-des-Dômes), dating to the first half of the first century AD, contains fragments of a plaster layer in cinnabar-red.⁵⁸ Next to it there was a round temple surrounded by a dodecagonal precinct in which the architectural details were modelled in stucco relief.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Horne and King 1980, 444-445; Cabuy 1991, 277-280. See Gose 1932, 127 and note 16: presence of paintings in the temple with peripteros. Cf. Cüppers 1975, 29-31 (no paintings mentioned).

⁵⁵ Reichmann 1989, 9 (with an illustration of the painting of a Corinthian capital). Nothing else has been published about these decorations.

⁵⁶ R. Gogräfe, *MainzZ* 4 (1997) 92, fig. 123; Gogräfe 1999, 258-259 no. 71, fig. 15.

⁵⁷ For a map of temples in Switzerland see Fauduet 1993b, 38. In his seminal study on Roman wall painting in Switzerland, Drack (1950) did not document any temple decorations. Fuchs 1989, 103 lists some fragments of paintings from the ancient site of Iuliomagus (Schleitheim near Schaffhausen), probably from a second century temple. All other sites in Fuchs 1989 (with additions to Drack) are domestic complexes. I am omitting Bern-Engehalbinsel, temple D on which see Horne and King 1980, 386 and the references given there. For the Martigny Mithraeum see Chapter 7. Thanks to Michel Fuchs and his entries in the bibliographical repertory *Apelles* 1 (1992)-7 (2010), I can give some examples. Brig-Glis (VS), 'Bau 1', paintings late first century AD: O. Paccolat, *ArchS* 20.1 (1997) 25-36, esp. 31-32. -

Dietikon (ZH), villa with shrine, coloured green, beginning of second century AD: C. Ebnöther, *Der römische Gutshof in Dietikon* (Monographien der Kantonsarchäologie Zürich, 25), Zurich 1995, 194. - Eschenz (TG): *Apelles* 7 (2010) no. 686. - Gamsen (VS): *ArchS* 20.1 (1997) 25-36. - Genève, imperial cult: *Apelles* 7 (2010) no. 688. - Martigny (VS), indigenous temple, middle first century AD: Ph. Wiblél, *JbSchwUrgesch* 79 (1996) 258. - Meyriez (FR), aedicula, red paint: *Apelles* 4 (2001) no. 598. - Riaz (FR), temple Mars Caturix, red and black panels in the ambulatory: *Apelles* 3 (1998) no. 633; *Apelles* 7 (2010) no. 701-702. - Ursins (VD), indigenous temple partly preserved in a church, imitation of blocks on podium in red and white, late first century AD: J.-B. Gardiol, *JbSchwUrgesch* 72 (1989) 290-294, esp. 291. - Yverdon-les-Bains (VD), sanctuary, two layers of paintings, AD 40-50: F. Menna and A. Schopfer, *JbSchwUrgesch* 87 (2004) 303-312, esp. 308, 313 note 12. - Yvonand (VD), sanctuary next to a villa, paintings in ambulatory: Ch. Ebnöther, *JbSchwUrgesch* 86 (2003) 249.

⁵⁸ Find record in *JbSchwUrgesch* 74 (1991) 253-254. Cf. Horne and King 1980, 382; Trunk 1991, 182-183 (without paintings).

⁵⁹ Morel 1993.

Just under the edge of the amphitheatre in Augusta Raurica (Augst BL), there are remains of a temple, called Sichelen 1, dating to the late first century AD. The main zone possessed a decoration of panels intertwined by candelabra on white, green and red surfaces which might have looked like the famous 'candelabrum wall' from Cologne.⁶⁰

The cella of a temple in Jona-Kempraten (SG) still has traces of a red plaster layer *in situ*. Its chronology is unclear, although some information about the complex is known. The temple was constructed in the first century AD and subsequently reconstructed after destruction by an unknown cause in the third century. It remained in use until the fourth century.⁶¹

FRANCE

Some overviews of decorations in Roman temples in France help us gain insight into sacral paintings.⁶² Several monuments with paintings were briefly discussed in an old study about round and polygonal temples by Harald Koethe but will be omitted from this discussion because the remains are too scanty.⁶³ The following discussion presents some examples in chronological order.

At Champlieu (Oise) there are remains of a temple next to a rather well-preserved theatre. Early explorations are known from the eighteenth century, whereas the famous architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc carried out excavations in the 1850s.⁶⁴ The squarish cella was surrounded by a portico, adorned with an elaborate decoration in

⁶⁰ Horne and King 1980, 377-378; Bossert-Radtke 1989, 129, 133, fig. 33 (wall Cologne, here figs. 34-35; cf. Thomas 1993, 177-207). Most recently J. Morel and A. Masur, *JbSchwUrgesch* 88 (2005) 346-347. Cf. the examples collected in Gogräfe 1999, 83-95.

⁶¹ Jona SG, Kempraten – Meienbergstrasse, *JbSchwUrgesch* 81 (1998) 295 (record about the discovery); Matter 1999, 199-200, fig. 8.

⁶² Some general observations in Barbet 1993, 9-10; Fauduet 1993a, 78-79; Barbet and Becq 1994. In the latter essay fifteen temples, at least eight of which are indigenous, are presented. Important issues regarding temples in Gaule, though there is no reference to paintings, have been addressed in Van Andringa 2002. Cf. Woolf 1998, 206-237, who also does not discuss painted mural decorations. See now Barbet 2008: chronological order of monuments, that are not discussed in groups according to their function.

⁶³ Koethe 1933 lists paintings in the following monuments (I add his catalogue numbers): (1) Beaumont-le-Roger (Horne and King 1980, 384), (2) Craon (Horne and King 1980, 402), (9) Alise-Sainte-Reine/Alesia (Horne and King 1980, 374; Barbet 2008, 133-134, figs. 185-186), (13) Grée-Mahé (Horne and King 1980, 414-415), (14) Herapel (Horne and King 1980, 419). Horne and King 1980 give the following cases which I shall not discuss either because of the scant data given in the bibliography provided by these authors and mention of possibly striking aspects. Horne

and King 1980, 381-382: Avalon, ambulatory; 383-384: Beauclair (Barbet 2008, 139, fig. 194); 386: Berthouville, temple D; 389: Braquemont, porch; 392: Cantelu; 392-393: Carnac, cella; 393: Le Catelier-de-Criqueboeuf-sur-Seine; 397: Chasse; 401 (Barbet 2008, 321): Crain, ambulatory; 409-410: Faye-l'Abbesse; 412-413: Gergovie, temple A, cella; temple B, outer wall of cella; 413: Goh-Illis; 418: Harfleur, cella; 421: Iznore, geometric and figural motifs; La Londe; 427: Louviers; 429: La Mare-de-Puits, in- and outside cella; 433: Mont-Berny, foliate motifs; 437: Mont-Saint-Vincent, in- and outside cella; 439: Naintré-Vieux-Poitiers; 444: Orgeville, 444: Orival, in- and outside cella; 452: Rajat; 455: Rieux, inside cella; 457-458: Saint-Aubin-sur-Gaillon, in- and outside; 461: Saint-Léomer, in- and outside (cf. É. de Vezeaux de Lavergne, *Le sanctuaire gallo-romain de Mazamas à Saint-Léomer*, Paris 1999, 49-50, brief description of fragments; no illustrations); 461-562: Saint-Marcel; 463: Saint-Ouen-de-Thouberville, Fourth Style; 463-464: Saintes, temple B (nothing in L. Maurin, *Saintes antique*, Saintes 1978); 464-465: Sanxay; 473-474: Les Tournelles; 474-475: Tremblois; 482: Triguères, temple A. *ThesCRA* IV (2005) 157 no. 7: Gué-de-Sciaux, Gallo-Roman temple with paintings applied in the era of Claudius in the cella (no bibliography!). Finally, Barbet, 2008, 304 has a note on murals of the imperial period in *fanum* I at La Graufesenque.

⁶⁴ Woimant 1993, 69.

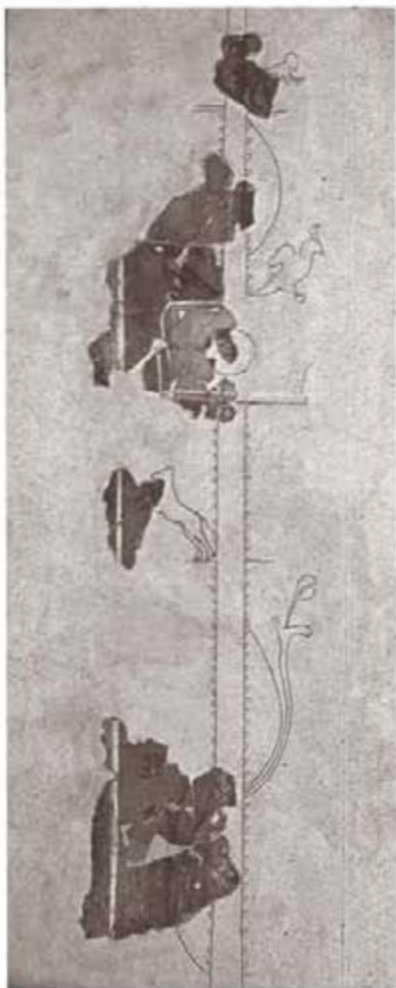


Fig. 38 Champlieu, temple candelabrum with small pinax, monkey (?), and phoenix, now Musée Vivenel, Compiègne (photo A. Barbet).

stone. It had a black-and-white floor mosaic in *opus tessellatum*, while the main zone of the walls showed red and black panels surrounded by subtle ornamental frames, separated by thin columns and scrolls (fig. 38). The dado was embellished with plants and herons on a black ground.⁶⁵ A dating to the time of Tiberius can be assumed, but one decade after is also acceptable as the excavator, George Pierre Woimant, has made clear that the paintings belong to Phase III, which follow the Tiberian Phase II.⁶⁶ The simple, but carefully executed murals, which are rich thanks to the variation of figural details, do not differ from contemporary private decorations of the Third Style in the centre of the Empire.

At Lardiers (Alpes-de-Haute-Provence) remains of a Gallo-Roman temple with a surrounding portico were explored in the early 1960s. The inner walls of the cella had red panels framed by white bands, whereas the outer walls showed orthostates in stucco relief. The walls of the portico also had painted panels in various colours. The sanctuary was erected in the early first century AD and remained in use for some three centuries, as has become clear from an analysis of the coins found there in great numbers. The divinity to which the complex was

⁶⁵ Horne and King 1980, 395-396; Barbet 1983, 156-160, fig. 33; A. Barbet, in *Picardie* 1982, 45-48; Defente 1990, 44-47, fig. 7-11; Woimant 1993, 107-116, figs. 17-18; Thomas 1995, 192-193, fig. 120; Gogräfe 1999, 217; Barbet 2008, 101-102, figs. 131-132. Barbet 1993, 9 labels the decorations as "atypiques." Woimant 1993, 108, reports that a part of the dec-

oration, restored in the centre for the study of wall paintings at Soissons, is on show in the Musée Vivenel at Compiègne.

⁶⁶ Woimant 1993, 89-90, 110. Phase IV (p. 127-128) had a even richer sculptural decoration but no paintings. Barbet 2008, 102 dates the mosaic to the second half of the first century AD.

dedicated is not known.⁶⁷ The contrast between interior and exterior – painting and relief – is similar to that of the Temple of Jupiter in Pompeii. It is not clear whether the decorations remained the same during this long lapse of time or whether they were restored. In the latter case the painters adopted the traditional forms from the time of the temple's foundation.

The decoration inside the portico of a temple in Les Bolards-Nuits-Saint-Georges (Côte d'Or), not far from Dijon, also dates to the Tiberian era. Here, red panels with upper delimitations in the shape of pediments were separated by black pilasters filled with slim candelabra. In a later phase, around the middle of the first century AD, additions were made; only red and black panels are still recognisable.⁶⁸ The building has been interpreted as a Mithraeum, but it lacks the typical characteristics of that group of cult rooms. Moreover, the early chronology prohibits such an interpretation of this complex.

At Châteauneuf (Savoy), on the river Isère, two cellae within a single portico, forming a Gallo-Roman shrine, were erected at the beginning of the first century AD on top of an indigenous sanctuary to Limetus. The dedication of the complex was extended to Mercury and his mother Maia, as well as Augustus and Roma. This building was destroyed in the Flavian era. The paintings found are mostly red panels (90 % of the fragments) and the remaining 10 % shows white surfaces.⁶⁹ The importance in this case is not the decoration itself, but rather the seventy graffiti scribbled upon the plaster that contain dedicatory and gratitude formulas to the gods mentioned.⁷⁰ The presence of these texts makes it plausible that the paintings in question decorated the outer walls, which would have been accessible to the worshippers. Mermot's suggestion that the murals belong to the Third Style cannot be substantiated by the pieces published, but may be probable.

The portico of the *fanum* at Loubers (Tarn) in the surroundings of Toulouse was built before the middle of the second century AD. It had dark-red panels, whilst the temple's cella possessed figural scenes. Murals were added when the sanctuary was extended. These are only preserved in fragments from a destruction layer dating to the middle of the first century AD. There are two female figures in the cella, one of whom plays two cymbals and the other a sort of kithara. Both stand on a yellow field. They are seen as ministers of a cult and rendered in an archaic style. Barbet compares them with some figures in contemporary Pompeian painting – who do not have a cult-specific function – and concludes that a precise definition of the figures remains elusive.⁷¹ One cannot but endorse this conclusion and will not immediately label the girls as cultic assistants, but rather neutrally as musicians or – still less definitively – as women with musical instruments. They look like Fourth-Style figures, but could even have belonged to a late Third-Style ensemble, the composition of which remains unclear.

The temple of Cracouville near Vieil-Evreux (Eure) was excavated in the 1930s.⁷² The oldest, Gaulish temple would have had blue external walls, the later Roman *fanum* red ones, whereas the interior contained a panel decoration. The dado of the latter murals had black panels with garlands and the red fields of the main zone were alternated by bands with candelabra. This example must have been executed around the middle of the first

⁶⁷ Reports of the finds, but without images: H. Rolland, *Gallia* 22 (1964) 545-550; 25 (1967) 387-391. Cf. Horne and King 1980, 425.

⁶⁸ Plateau-Comte 1985, 65-69, figs. 8.4-8.8; Barbet 2008, 60-61, fig. 56.

⁶⁹ Mermot 1993, 102. Instead of the idea of white frames suggested by Mermot, I think that white lower or upper zones are more probable.

⁷⁰ Mermot 1993, 105-124. There is also an official inscription on a slab for Limetus (p. 104-105, figs. 8-9).

⁷¹ Barbet and Becq 1994, 106, fig. 3: "En conclusion, ces figurines d'assistantes à un sacrifice conviennent à la destination du lieu,

si toutefois des libations et des chants rythmés y étaient célébrés, mais on remarquera qu'elles hantent tout autant les chambres et les salons des maisons privées. Le thème n'est donc pas réservé à un sanctuaire, et son emploi est largement répandu." See also Bessou 1978, 192 (cella), 193 ('déambulatoire'), 198-199, fig. 15; Barbet 2008, 95, figs. 117-119.

⁷² Horne and King 1980, 400-401; Gruaz 1985. Two small pieces of paintings from the temple are illustrated in Picardie 1982 (Claudine Allag, p. 103-105). Horne and King 1980, 488-489 mention another temple at Vieil-Evreux (temple C, outer walls of cella: painted opus sectile).



Fig. 39 Jublains, temple, exterior wall of precinct, pigeon (photo A. Barbet). For a colour version of this figure, see page 241.

century AD, as can be deduced from the composition of the candelabra with their elements dating to the late Third and early Fourth Style.

Information about a temple in the town of the Diablintes at Jublains is known from the 1830s onwards, when the first research was carried out.⁷³ A double portico, with colonnaded corridors at the exterior (there is only one entrance on the eastern side) and the interior surrounds a quadrangular terrain on which a temple rises on a high platform. Considerable remains of the *peribolos* wall of the portico, as it is called by the French researchers guided by Jacques Naveau, and the temple itself have been preserved as well as elements of the architectural order (Corinthian capitals, entablature fragments). Visitors were able to see remains of paintings on the *peribolos* wall, including parts of a human figure.⁷⁴ The most recent excavations in the late 1980s and early 1990s recovered fragments of a panel decoration adorning the interior portico. Some bear graffiti like the paintings at Châteauneuf. The pieces might belong to a system of black panels separated by thin columns in green and yellow. Other panels could have been blue or green. There were vignettes of birds, either placed in the centre of the panels or in the still missing dado (fig. 39). The paintings have been dated to AD 45-80. The ensemble fits well into the usual schemes of the Fourth Style. The venerated deity – there are fragments of a cult statue – might be a fertility and/or water goddess like Fortuna, Abundantia, a *mater* or similar.⁷⁵

The indigenous temple in Saint-Germain d'Esteuil (Gironde) had a similar combination of elements in its cella. The black dado supported a main zone with red panels, between which stood columns, and an upper zone with figures. The precinct wall was decorated with white panels showing repetitive patterns. The complex was constructed in the second half of the first century AD, in the period of the Fourth Style. There are intriguing, but unfortunately scanty, pieces of figural scenes occupying the panels of the cella. One of them has

⁷³ Horne and King 1980, 421-422; Naveau 1997, 115-202. Also mentioned by J. Naveau and B. Pivette in Goudineau, Fauduet and Coulon 1994, 99-103.

⁷⁴ On the paintings Sabine Groetembril and Alix Barbet in

Naveau 1997, 180-187, figs. 108-116 and photo 1-8; Barbet 2008, 138-139, 354, fig. 535.

⁷⁵ Naveau 1997, 187-189, 200.

Fig. 40 Saint-Germain d'Esteuil, temple, person in front of group, now Depot of Verteuil (photo A. Barbet). For a colour version of this figure, see page 242.

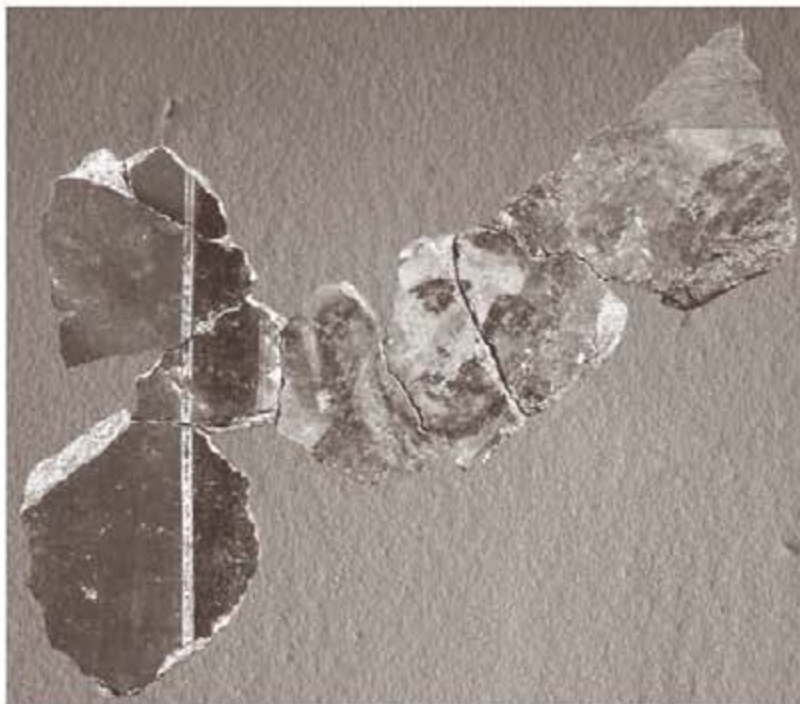


Fig. 41 Saint-Germain d'Esteuil, temple, seated person with inscription ABOVNV, now Depot of Verteuil (photo A. Barbet). For a colour version of this figure, see page 242.

remains of a ship and is interpreted as Theseus abandoning Ariadne at Naxos. Another panel bears the word *abounu* under the right foot of a kneeling man with hands downwards, maybe holding a knife, and looking up at a lost object or person (fig. 40-41). The text should probably be read as *Aplonou*, namely *Apollo*. The female figure next to a moon crescent and stars in another square frame might be Diana-Luna. However, the exact interpretation of these human figures is beyond reach.⁷⁶

Comparable to the Elst decorations – and contemporary to, or one or two decades older – are the paintings from the temple in Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme), not far from Amiens. A *tropaeum* of the late La Tène era is covered by a temple of the Augustan period whose cella was adorned by a black dado with red lozenges and a series of red panels in the main zone separated by black bands during a second, possibly middle- or late-Flavian phase. These were filled by slim candelabra.⁷⁷ This middle zone is crowned by a thin frieze with lotus flowers, but what adorned the upper zone is unknown. Some of the figural elements adorning the black panels have been preserved; on the red panels garlands formed the main adornments, whereas the upper zone possessed (possibly) figural acroteria and shields. Despite the scant concrete data, Christine Marchand associated these elements with ‘grand’ forms of sacral architectural decorations like pediments.⁷⁸ The god venerated was Mars, but we cannot associate the depicted motifs specifically with this inhabitant of the temple. The shields are rather generic elements used in wall paintings. There are also fragments of decorations from phase V, namely the second and third centuries AD, which have been applied in combination with a lavish marble decoration of the floors and parts of the walls. These plaster pieces, in contrast, are modest, but we have to wait for the final publication before a good judgment can be formulated.

The city of Allonnes (Sarthe) has a sanctuary dedicated to Mars Mullo containing fragments of murals from the decorations of the *quadriporticus* around the monumental podium temple. Above a dado of marble plaques applied in the technique of *opus sectile* – real mosaic and painted imitations alike – there were red and black panels painted between slim yellow columns in the main zone. The upper zone cannot be reconstructed, but apparently the same colours were used in this register of the walls. The portico was constructed in the 130s and its decorations probably belong to this phase.⁷⁹

At Eu (Seine-Maritime), site Bois-l’Abbé, remains of a temple were found at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They date to the third century. Later explorations revealed parts of other cult buildings in the same area, all still showing traces of painted decoration.⁸⁰ The paintings from the small late first or early second century *fanum*, located south of the large temple, can be studied in greater detail. Marion Muller was able to reconstruct the murals of the outer walls: a simple panel decoration with a dado speckled in blue and red, and white framed panels with drinking horns attached to the upper frame. Between these panels appear candelabra, adorned with

⁷⁶ Barbet 1993, 9 pl. 1.1; Barbet and Becq 1994, 107-108 fig. 7-12; Barbet 2008, 225-227, figs. 349-351. The suggestion about *Aplonou* was given to me by Hélène Eristov and is based on an oral communication between her and Christian Peyre; now also in Barbet 2008, 226. As to chronology, the paintings might belong to remodelling around 100 (Barbet 2008, 225).

⁷⁷ Horne and King 1980, 454; C. Allag, in *Picardie* 1982, 81; Marchand 2003. See also Cadoux 1971 and 1978. See on the paintings Quillet 1978; Barbet 1983, 155-156, fig. 32; Goggräfe 1999, 217; Barbet 2008, 179, figs. 267-269. Barbet 1983 speaks about a ripe Third Style from the Flavian era, but in my opinion this is not the case; in her 2008 book she uses the more sensible expression “*héritage du III^e style, mais enrichi*.” The decoration belongs to the large group of Fourth

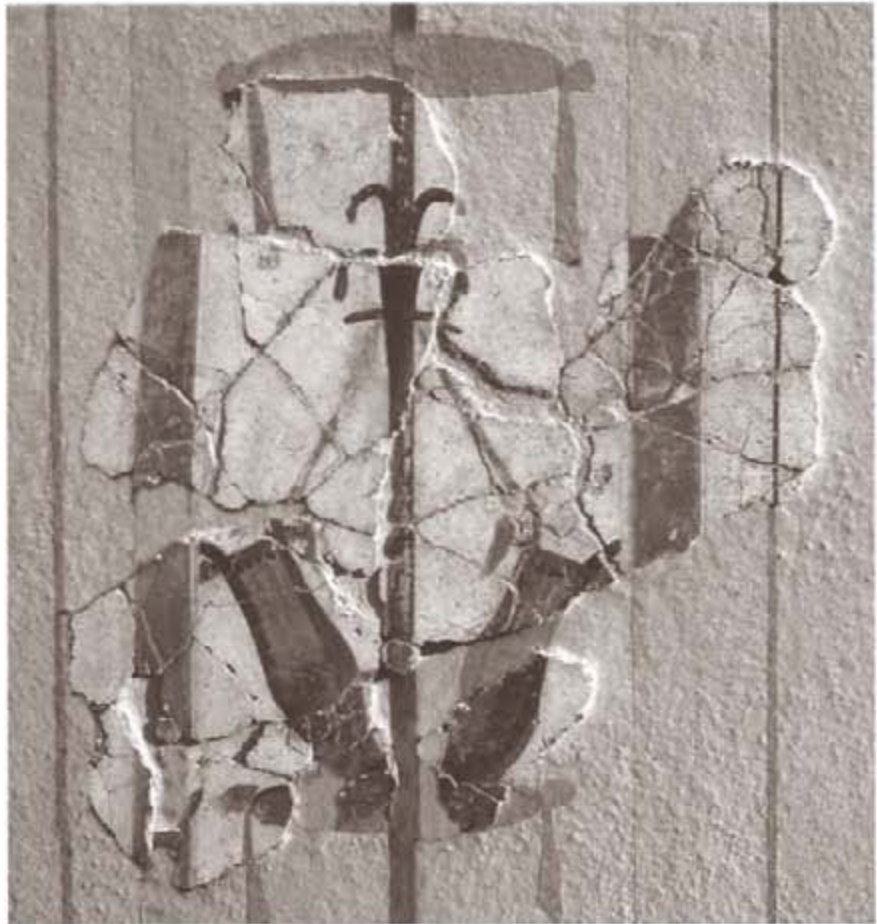
Style candelabrum walls from the late first and early second century, as was observed correctly in Bruneaux 1999 and 2000. Bruneaux 1999, 181, 220, 225-226, fig. 41: brief mention of the paintings.

⁷⁸ Marchand 2003, esp. 103.

⁷⁹ Horne and King 1980, 374-375; Allag and Cormier 2003; C. Allag in Brouquier-Reddé and Gruel 2004, 339-340, figs. 58-59 on pl. X; Barbet 2008, 208. The findings belong to the ‘fifth horizon’ (Brouquier-Reddé and Gruel 2004, 335-343, fig. 56).

⁸⁰ Horne and King 1980, 408-409; Muller 1990; Barbet 1993, 9; Barbet and Becq 1994, 104-107, fig. 2; Goggräfe 1999, 217; Barbet 2008, 241-245, figs. 376-383. A reconstruction drawing is published in Baldassarre 2002, 336.

Fig. 42 Eu, Bois-l'Abbé, temple, candelabrum with two lyres (photo A. Barbet). For a colour version of this figure, see page 242.



musical instruments and theatrical masks. The image of a lyre (fig. 42) led Alix Barbet to suggest that the shrine was a temple to Apollo, but her proposal, albeit formulated with reticence, cannot be substantiated and some other figural elements could refer to Dionysos.⁸¹ Elements referring to Dionysos are also preserved in the small temple 6, dating to the Hadrianic era. Its cella had a rich system in the dado and the main zone, whereas the upper register is lacking. Black and red panels, filled with thyrsos, garlands and plants, occupy the dado. The red panels of the main zone contain tiny arched aediculae embellished with masks tied to the arches. These are separated by black zones containing robust candelabra with, on top, standing figures of which the lower parts of two unidentifiable persons have been reconstructed. One is a cuirassed man with boots and sporting a lance and a shield, whereas the other, in tunic and breeches, appears to be dancing. The latter also has a quiver around which he wraps a band.⁸² Noémie Frésard interprets the first man as a variation of Mars Ultor, who may be an emperor, and the second as a mix of an easterner and Dionysos, representing the god's Indian triumph. However, the dancing position can also be interpreted as the right leg supporting body weight, while the left leg is lifted slightly higher than usual. The first figure's boots are similar to ones worn by Dionysos.⁸³ Moreover, the strong

⁸¹ Alix Barbet agreed with my remark (letter June 2006) and omitted the suggestion in Barbet 2008, 241-242. See Frésard 2006: the decorations are now firmly dated to the second half of the second century AD.

⁸² Frésard 2006, 16-17, 19-20, fig. 4-5, pl. I.

⁸³ See, for instance, statuesque figures in painting: Moormann 1988, 105-106 cat. 025/2, 110 cat. 032/3, 122-123 cat. 053, 124-125 cat. 057, 133 cat. 102, 138 cat. 124178 cat. 204/2 etc. (all illustrated).



Fig. 43 Nizy-le-Comte, temple, hunting scene (from *Gazette Archéologique* 3, 1877, pl. 35-36).

accentuation of these candelabrum figures as clues for the attribution of the temple to an emperor cult is not convincing. The figures, including the Silen mask, shields, vegetation motifs and the candelabra themselves belong to the realm of beauty and bounty and cannot be seen in a limited way as specific cult figures. Just as in the case of Arras (see *infra* and fig. 47-48), I think that the candelabra are part of the decorative system, of which Frésard was able to reconstruct some 12 metres with seven red panels. They do not provide solutions for the unsolved question of the dedicatee of the temple itself.⁸⁴

At Nizy-le-Comte (Aisne) figurative representations are known from the portico of a temple dedicated to an unknown divinity. The most exciting scene is that of a hunt, presumably with an emperor among the hunters, wearing a wreath and a *paludamentum*, who has been tentatively identified as Hadrian (figs. 43-45). Moreover, it was argued that Hercules and Atlas were represented in another scene, but this group might even be Hercules catching the stag of Kerynia. This uncertainty explains the difficulty of interpreting these fragmentary images. The portico contained some architectural elements dating to the second century AD. Barbet finds a connection with a cult for Hercules tempting, although she considers the paintings of no value to support this assumption.⁸⁵ This reserve is expressed rightly, but in case of a correct assumption, the *Aedes Augustalium* at Herculaneum (see Chapter 6) ought to be taken into account as a good comparison. As to the image of the emperor, it is argued that he is part of a group of four hunters. As he is seen from the back in three-quarter view, but with his face in profile, the interpretation of this person as an emperor is extremely problematic. The beard, hair and posture do not support this interpretation. The interpretation as a *uenatio*, proposed by Barbet, is more attractive than that of the depiction of gladiatorial games. However, the men's clothing clearly defines them as hunters.

⁸⁴ Frésard 2006, 16, fig. 1, with a discussion of candelabrum walls on pp. 18-19. Cf. now Barbet 2008, 243-245, figs. 379-382. The two other buildings yielded scanty remains of decorations: Barbet 2008, 245.

⁸⁵ Blanchet 1913, 32-34, 35 (quotation *infra*), 47, pls. II, VIII; Horne and King 1990, 442-443; Barbet 1993, 9. Cf. Defente 1990, 49; Fauduet 1993a, 79; Barbet and Becq 1994, 107, fig. 4-6; Barbet 2008, 287-289, figs. 445-447.

Fig. 44 Nizy-le-Comte, temple, kneeling figure (from Blanchet 1913, pl. II).



Fig. 45 Nizy-le-Comte, temple, hunter with laurel wreath, seen from behind, now Musée de Laon (photo A. Barbet).



Fig. 46 Genainville, temple of Les Vaux-de-la-Celle, northern gallery, dado of wall A (from Berthier 1993, pl. V.2).

Another problematic case is the interpretation of a single, hitherto isolated human figure that is crouching in an uncomfortable position and seems to be holding something over his head (fig. 44), seen by Blanchet as Diana surprised while bathing. As at Louberon, the walls supporting the murals were very large and, therefore, we have to keep in mind that only very small amounts of decorative elements have come to light, which prevents us from interpreting them too boldly.

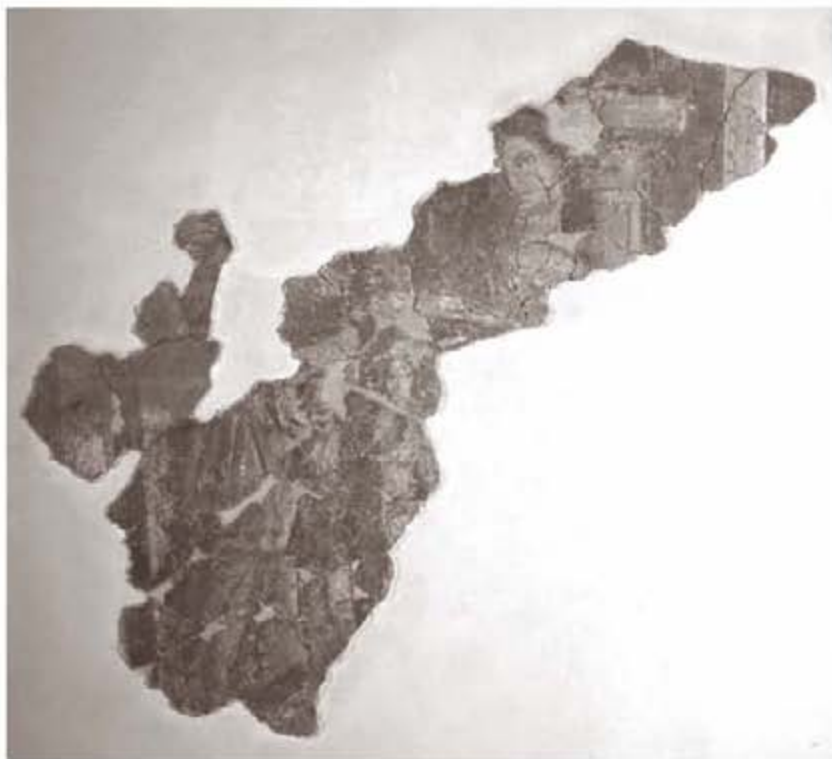
The paintings in the temple of Genainville (Val d'Oise) date to the middle of the second century AD. The complex, called a *conciliabulum*, comprised of a rectangular temple with a peristyle and some adjacent buildings. The two cellae still display remains of a rich decoration in which the love for precious materials prevails. Next to parts of a costly floor in *opus sectile* numerous fragments of the wall decorations were found during the excavations. The dado was decorated with rectangular panels with various motifs that imitate *opus sectile* and in this way connect the floor and wall decorations. The panels of the main zone were framed with red bands. The gallery around the temple still shows paintings up to five metres high, similarly richly executed. Extremely broad pilasters with ten flutings in a painted form alternate with panels containing architectural prospects and here, similarly, the dado is covered with colourful marble imitation (fig. 46). The annex building VI, with a hypocaust, showed paintings in the dado in the form of marble imitations and geometric motifs. In Room 6 of the 'Pavillons,' festoons adorned the oblong panels of the dadoes and above there were narrow panels – a distinctly different format with respect to common practice – separated by broad strips which are embellished by stylised candelabra between thin scrolls. Finally, Rooms 9 and 10 should be mentioned. These show a panel decoration mainly in red above a dado with garlands (9) or with empty yellow and red panels (10), as we know from the reconstruction by Rui Nunes Pedroso. A mainly symbolic interpretation of the paintings was proposed by Geneviève Berthier in a paper during a colloquium in 1979 in which she presents the first results of her research. In the motifs of the dadoes she recognised symbols of the four elements and the stars. This hypothesis was immediately debated during the meeting itself and the proposal, as a matter of fact, was concluded to be untenable. Indeed, in the large final publication Berthier no longer interprets the paintings in this way.⁸⁶ This rich ensemble does not even possess any specific element to give some religious flavour to the paintings but the idea of a heightened luxury was suggested by the lavish use of the marble and pilaster imitations.

At Arras the remains of the 'complexe métroaque,' dedicated to Cybele and Attis, were explored in the 1980s. It was constructed around AD 200 and served as a shrine until the middle of the fourth century. Paintings

⁸⁶ Horne and King 1980, 410-411; Berthier 1980; Monier 1980; Nunes Pedroso 1980; A. Barbet, in *Picardie* 1982,

85-95; Barbet 1993, 9; Berthier 1993, 221-257; Barbet 2008, 204-208, figs. 304-311.

Fig. 47 Arras, Temple of Cybele, mural decoration, 3rd century. Excavations A. Jacques; now Depot Service Archéologique d'Arras, inv. A84 K26.01 (photo M. Jeanneteau).



from the end of the third century were found as debris in the ruins of the deliberately destroyed building. Eric Belot, the excavator, could reconstruct a part of a figural scene (fig. 47). Belot argues that Cybele and Attis are standing next to other cult persons under a rounded arch supported by pilasters.⁸⁷ His reconstruction drawing, however, shows four female figures surrounding a candelabrum, two large ones in the background, with their heads turned towards the candelabrum, and two of a smaller size on the foreground under an umbrella-like element. Attributes are lacking and the absence of a certain context must be taken into account. In my opinion, it is extremely improbable that these fragments are references to the cult of the gods from Asia Minor. Rather we are looking at one of the usual candelabrum decorations, as is suggested on my reconstruction sketch (fig. 48). If this alternative is correct, the whole represents a very late version of the candelabrum walls of the first and second centuries AD, several examples of which have been discussed in this study. Moreover, other scholars have expressed their doubt about the identification of the building. Barbet, for instance, now suggests a *schola* for *den-drophoroi*, but we might even doubt the sacral nature of the complex if we have to rely solely on the paintings.⁸⁸

Traces of the temple of Janus in Autun are no longer visible, but it is recorded that in the eighteenth century niches contained panels decorations.⁸⁹ Apparently, there was at least an arrangement of white and red panels with red and white frames respectively, as well as other elements in the dado and upper zone. The paintings have not been dated.

⁸⁷ Belot 1986; Jacques and Belot 1991, 25 fig. 3 pl. B; Barbet 2008, 284-286, figs. 441-442.

⁸⁸ Barbet 2008, 286.

⁸⁹ Bogaers 1955, 97 refers to De Fontenay 1889, 223. Cf. *Apelles* 4, no. 185 and no. 220, where Hélène Eristov cites

De Fontenay's description (p. 99: "les niches avaient conservé, au XVII^e s., leur peinture blanche à filets rouges ou rouge à filets blancs ainsi que de plus riches décors; usage du cinabre"). On the temple see Horne and King 1980, 379-380; Gros 1996, 201 fig. 239.

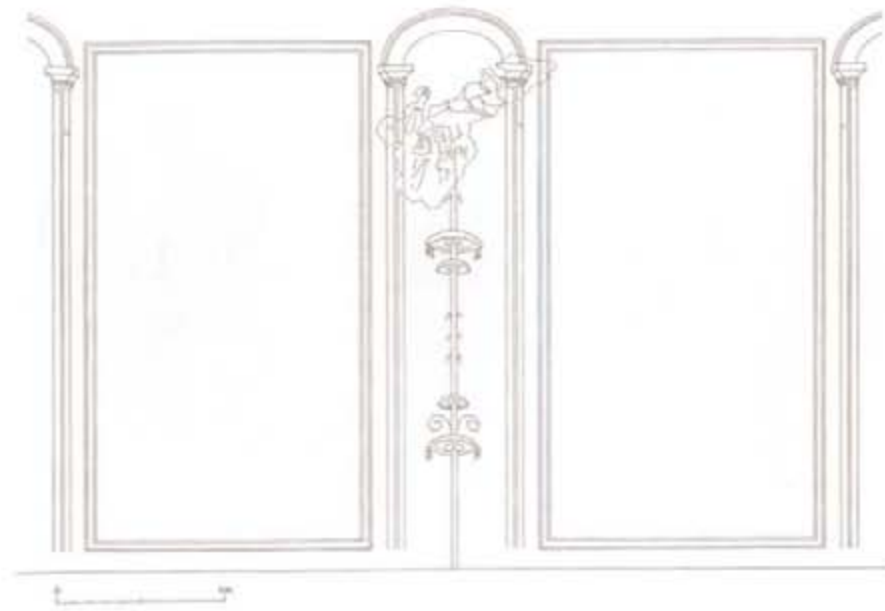


Fig. 48 Arras, Temple of Cybele, reconstruction of the mural decoration, 3rd century; the upper part of the candelabrum is taken from the publication by Eric Belot (1986) (drawing E.J. Ponten, Radboud University Nijmegen).

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

The corpus of Roman wall paintings in Spain, compiled by Lorenzo Abad Casal, facilitates the search for temple decoration in Roman Hispania.⁹⁰ In his overview of the murals in Roman Spain within their context he lists twelve religious monuments, six of which belong to the category discussed in this study, whilst the others date to the early Christian era.⁹¹ The remains, however, are extremely scanty and provide few new insights.

The Capitolium of Cadiz⁹² was constructed using a modest building technique and the red decoration was devised to conceal the poor walls, according to Abad Casal. He suggests that painted exterior walls were a rarity. However, this sounds like an attempt to justify the scanty remains and it should be noted that almost Roman walls were covered with stucco and paint. Abad Casal does not offer any dates for the paintings.

The Jupiter Temple in Caparra⁹³ also has few remains of paintings. Mention is made of bright red paint and undefinable compositions. The chronology is also lacking.

The small podium temple in Azaila in the province of Teruel is one of the few complexes in Spain that have been studied in greater detail.⁹⁴ The cella walls of the *templum in antis* showed an imitation of the well-known marble plaques. Parts of a smooth plinth and dado and three layers of blocks in relief from the middle zone were found *in situ* on the northern wall in 1925; the other walls also had some pieces of painted plaster.⁹⁵ Fragments of stucco cornices collected within the cult room would have belonged to the upper part of the wall decoration.

⁹⁰ Abad Casal 1982. Nothing from Portugal relevant to this study has come to my knowledge.

⁹¹ Abad Casal 1982, 437, with commentary on pp. 435-436. Chapter 7 has a short discussion on the Mithraeum of Badajoz. In my discussion I will always refer to Abad Casal's catalogue number. The index gives easy references to the sites.

⁹² Abad Casal 1982, cat. Ca 2.2.1. Let me recall the Temple of Herakles, known from Silios (here pp. 38-39).

⁹³ Abad Casal 1982, cat. Cc 2.1.

⁹⁴ Abad Casal 1982, cat. Te 1.1.1-1.1.1.1.1 fig. 419 (no dat-

ing proposal given). But see Guiral Pelegrín and Mostalac Carrillo 1987, 233-235, fig. 2 (reconstruction of the first Style); Mostalac and Guiral 1992, 127-129; Mostalac Carrillo and Guiral Pelegrín 1995.

⁹⁵ Beltrán Lloris 1990, 80-82, figs. 40-42. One of the most spectacular finds comprises fragments of a sculpture group of a man with a horse, to be dated to the beginning of the first century BC on the basis of this historical evidence (Beltrán Lloris 1990, 235-239, fig. 92; with many previous proposals, running from the middle of the first century BC until the era of Augustus).

The floor in *opus signinum*, with geometrical decorations like meanders and swastikas, belongs to this phase. The cella would have contained a First Style marble imitation dated to the first quarter of the first century BC. The years 76-72 are a *terminus ante quem*, since the town was destroyed during the wars of Quintus Sertorius against Pompey.⁹⁶

A temple dedicated to Tiberius in Bilbilis, modern-day Calatayud, not far from Zaragoza, yielded fragments of paintings both *in situ* and within a destruction layer inside the podium. The plinth, still *in situ*, shows a pink surface with black and white dots. The paintings are applied on tiles in order to protect them from humidity. This part of the decoration may date to the construction phase.⁹⁷ A large number of fragments found in the building debris belongs to the early first century AD murals. Unfortunately the wall decoration cannot be completely reconstructed, but the pieces include imitations of marble veneer and panel decorations, showing a strong affinity with the later Third Style.⁹⁸

Finally, a suggestion of large plaques or marble blocks was found on the inner and outer walls of the temple in Vich (area of Barcelona) dating to the second century AD.⁹⁹

THE BALKANS

Very few sanctuaries from the important Roman provinces in the Balkans are known and only one temple with paintings can be included in this study. No temples with painted decorations are known from Roman Greece.¹⁰⁰

In ancient Iader, the current town of Zadar in Croatia, excavations in 1963 in an area not far from the Roman forum brought to light remains of a private shrine for Cybele in the shape of a single small room. Fragments of a figural mural decoration include the depiction of a seated woman with, next to her, traces of a lion. She apparently represents Cybele. The excavators, Mate Suić and Juljan Medini, argue that a variety of oriental deities were worshipped there in Late Antiquity. This suggestion is based on (1) the painting of Cybele, (2) inscriptions and (3) architectural elements showing Dionysian and other decorative ornaments. Deservedly, Anemari Bugarski-Mesdjian has expressed her doubts regarding this combination of what is nothing but *disiecta membra* and only accepted the presence of a shrine for Cybele.¹⁰¹ The various elements do not fit the spatial and temporal context. Instead, the building ornaments show ordinary decorative motifs. As to the chronology of the fragmentarily preserved representation of the Cybele room, a late first century AD date is plausible. The succinct descriptions by the excavator make clear that parts of several figures and further figurative representations (even that of love-making) have been found; their dimensions are more or less one-third life-size. Unfortunately, it is impossible to reconstruct the decorative composition scheme and/or the images on the basis of the extant documentation. Effectively, nothing of all evidence hitherto published proves a connection with cult, much less a sanctuary.

CONCLUSIONS

We may conclude that the temples in the transalpine provinces of the Roman Empire, of which only some of the better preserved examples have been discussed here, usually possessed painted decorations that were fashionable in the centre of the Empire in terms of pictorial style as well as iconographic themes. Many temples suggest

⁹⁶ Beltrán Lloris 1990, 255-257. The ancient name of Azaila is unknown. On the war, see A. Lintott in *Cambridge Ancient History* 9 (1994) 215-221.

⁹⁷ Guiral Pelegrín and Martín-Bueno 1996, 37-39, fig. 4.

⁹⁸ Guiral Pelegrín and Martín-Bueno 1996, 40-46, 52, figs. 6-9. A representation of a woman with a steer and a *cornucopiae*, apparently the depiction of Isis Pelagia or Fortuna and dated to the second century AD (Abad Casal 1982, cat. Z 4.4.1),

stems from a *lararium* and not a cultic shrine (see Guiral Pelegrín and Martín-Bueno 1996, 235-245, pl. III) dating to the middle of the first century AD (information provided by Carmen Guiral Pelegrín).

⁹⁹ Abad Casal 1982, cat. B 9.1.

¹⁰⁰ If I may rely on Andreou 1989.

¹⁰¹ Suić 1965, 353-355, pl. 74-75; Medini 1978, 742-743, pl. CLIII; Bugarski-Mesdjian 1999.

opulence by means of wall decorations in the form of marble imitations, columns, pilasters and candelabra as well as other architectural features. As far as floor decorations are known, these are sometimes similar to the decoration of the dadoes, being either adorned with a real marble *opus sectile* or with a painted imitation.

The frequently used motif of the candelabra in the strips that separate the panels in the main zones of the mural decorations form, as we saw, one of the most beloved compositional elements and do not suggest anything special concerning the deity or deities venerated in a temple. With reference to the candelabra in temples of the early first century AD, Gogräfe observes that they fit the Augustan imagery expressing *pietas* and bounty.¹⁰² That is in all senses correct, but it does not specifically pertain to temples because scrolls and candelabra had become rather common decorative motifs, for which reason this special meaning could have been already forgotten in the course of time. Therefore, we must beware of over-estimating the importance of single decorative motifs, since their significance does not change within the context of a sanctuary as they are parts of a whole set of decorative elements that constitute the decorative ‘language’ of the time. All in all, these decorative systems represent good examples of the local adaptation of forms of art and decoration in use in the centre of the Empire, Rome itself, and express the desire of European provinces to belong to that cultural and powerful system of Rome and its empire during the first three centuries AD. It cannot be established whether local painters only adapted schemes and forms imitated from models, whether they learnt this from Italian painters or whether these decorations were imported by people originating from the centre. Neither can we say for sure that the decorations were uniquely commissioned by local elite members or by Romans who wanted to impose their power by means of introducing their culture to the newly conquered areas. The application of Roman elements would often have been an expression of the adaptation of artistic ideas from Rome. This also implies the wish of local leaders to adapt Roman expressions of power and to show themselves more or less as Romans.¹⁰³

Derks has argued that figurative scenes had an impact on illiterate inhabitants of the northern provinces and indicate a “powerful support for oral tradition.”¹⁰⁴ If this is correct, we must consider this view in light of the many fragments of figural scenes and vignettes mentioned in this chapter. In particular, in France we have encountered various instances of iconographic themes (figs. 40-41, 43-45) and, as we have seen, they are, or were, often optimistically interpreted as proof of certain cults or, at least, of the presence of certain gods in the temples they adorned. Unfortunately, many of these elements are too badly preserved to permit more specific conclusions about the nature of figurative scenes and their themes in Gallo-Roman temple paintings. The figure of a kneeling man accompanied by the text *abounu* at Saint-Germain d’Esteuil remains a mystery, and the emperor Hadrian at Nizy-le-Comte is nothing but an ordinary hunter, whether in a *uenatio* or not. The fragments from Iader and Arras do not allow for a certain interpretation of these sanctuaries as temples of Cybele. Moreover we also can no longer establish the nature of the figurative elements in the temples in Genainville, Laubers, Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Eu. This is sad, especially since Derks’ observation is attractive and seems a logical explanation to help understand how locals related to the Romans and their cults. We cannot but conclude that the scantiness of the paintings themselves and the paucity of figural elements leads too easily to far-fetched conclusions that lack a sound foundation and are fuelled by the enthusiasm of the excavators and their staff.

¹⁰² Gogräfe 1999, 217.

¹⁰³ I may refer to the highly interesting collection of essays on the presence of things Augustan in periphery, in which this double direction is made clear in contributions about Germany, Spain, northern Africa and Palestine: Kreikenbom et

al. 2008.

¹⁰⁴ Derks 1998, 202 note 293. In his works, however, paintings are only rarely referred to (p. 203, note 297) and never dealt with in-depth.

5 The Eastern Half of the Empire and North Africa

The Near East followed the developments in Hellenistic architecture and art introduced during the era of the Diadochs and the archaeological record shows many examples of the implementation of Greek-inspired forms and fashions. As to our topic, our knowledge has increased in the last decades thanks to explorations of monumental complexes like the royal palaces in Jericho, houses in Jerusalem and the famous fortress of Masada. A lavish monograph on Jericho by Silvia Rozenberg contains an excellent overview of the corpus of mural decorations between the late second century BC and the beginning of our era in Israel and Jordan.¹

From Rozenberg's study it becomes clear that the *koine* of Hellenistic forms and techniques in painting spread all across this region in the second century BC. The main features of this *koine* are suggestions of marble slabs and reliefs by means of stucco and, in the first century BC, the introduction of painted imitations of the same precious building materials, columns and cornices that we know so well from Second Style paintings in Italy. Influences may have come from Roman occupants like the succession of governors and, in the late first century, the many visits Herod the Great paid to Rome. The main examples of the introduction of Roman decoration are those in the residences of the king in Jericho, Masada and the Herodion. The imitation of marble slabs in a more or less realistic form continues far beyond the Second Style in Italy and so seems to perpetuate traditions of the previous periods beloved by the king and his entourage.² A reason for this expression of lavishness might be a dislike of figural motifs, let alone scenes, that made urgent a rich array of architectural and material suggestions. This aniconic character cannot be explained by the dearth of artistic quality among the painters. As a matter of fact, the decorations known from royal and other contexts are of excellent quality. Instead, such decisions are grounded in the traditional religious prohibition of figural scenes on the basis of the Second Commandment in the Hebrew Bible.³ Nevertheless, as we will see in Chapter 8, there are some notable exceptions to this rule in later periods.

Among the complexes worth noting are fragments of paintings found under the Augustan layers of a temple in Sebaste, named after the first Roman emperor but following the Hellenistic tradition. The pieces display painted representations of monochrome yellow and blue slabs separated by imitations of alabaster, breccias etc. They may date to the middle of the first century BC and are connected by Rozenberg with the Roman governor Aulus Gabinius (57-55) who rebuilt the town that had been sacked in 108 by John Hyrcanus I.⁴ The fragments known do not allow for a reconstruction of the whole scheme, but we may visualize a black plinth and a red dado supporting orthostats that would have been followed by some tiers of horizontal slabs and cornices.

The important harbour of Caesarea is not rich in material pertinent to this study. However, Rozenberg⁵ mentions fragments of wall plaster from the Temple of Augustus and Roma that may be similar to the murals in the

¹ Rozenberg 2008, 283-424. Cf. Chapter 2, Temple of Zeus in Gerasa (fig. 3).

² Cf. Rozenberg 2008, 429. On Herod and Roman architecture i.a. Gros 2005, with previous bibliography.

³ Cf. Rozenberg 2008, 464.

⁴ Rozenberg 2008, 365-366, fig. 430.

⁵ Rozenberg 2008, 380, 405-406 note 111, 420 note 460. She refers to another temple, recently discovered, at Omrit (Rozenberg 2008, 380). For the Temple of Jupiter in Pompeii, see here p. 69-71.

Temple of Jupiter in Pompeii and, we may suggest, to those of Sebaste. Evidently, this temple was founded by Herod out of respect to Augustus and must date to this era.

Herod's Palace in Jerusalem is referred to as a parallel for the Temple of Jerusalem in the Augustan period in Th.A. Busink's impressive study of this important shrine.⁶ Although nothing of the enormous complex erected by Herod the Great is left, it is better to discuss it here than in Chapter 1. The decorations must have been made in the Hellenistic fashion, which Herod also adopted at Masada and Jericho. In the extensive description of the temple by Flavius Josephus, gold dominates as a decorative material. Despite Flavius' mention of golden plates covering the walls, Busink rightly thinks that the use of this material was limited to ornamental bands and framings.⁷ A good argument against the existence of golden elements of a certain dimension is the fact that Titus' soldiers are not accused by Flavius as having taken away such plates when they ransacked the Temple. The walls of the entrance hall had decorations in the Second Style with a lot of yellow ('gold') and Busink plausibly suggests yellow as the principal colour of the lower zone, symbolising the Earth, and blue in the upper parts, alluding to Heaven.⁸

Busink compares the decorations in the Great Temple in Jerusalem with those of a shrine for Allat at Wadi Ramm in the South of Jordan (near Ain Shelaleh) excavated in 1933 and 1959.⁹ Its outer walls were finely stuccoed and the interior showed a set of columns on the wall structure and stuccoed with flutings.¹⁰ The intercolumniations were decorated in colourful schemes. Apparently every section was different but only one of them could be reconstructed.¹¹ The lower zone of 175 cm showed a yellow dado and had a scroll and a red band on top. In the main (upper?) zone there are white oblong blocks decorated with lozenges that contained floral motifs. Some fragments bear Greek and Nabatean graffiti and modern scribbles. According to the first excavators, M.R. Savignac and G. Horsfield, this monument was erected in the first half of the second century AD. The use of the building in the time of Marcus Aurelius is attested by coins and an inscribed votive altar. Diana Kirkbridge carried out new investigations as she did not agree with these conclusions. She distinguished three phases, noting that the paintings belonged to the third phase.¹² The temple might have been founded under king Rabbel II (70-106) and was restored or successively altered in the course of the second century. It should be linked to the Great Temple in Petra.¹³ Busink, on the other hand, dated the complex to the first century BC, probably to connect it with the Temple of Jerusalem, and A. Negev finally suggested that the building type was in use under Obodas III and Aretas IV, so that Ramm and similar complexes should date to the first century AD.¹⁴ Neither the architectural features nor the decorations provide sufficient data for a sound chronology. The use of veneer imitation has old roots, one may think of the Second-Style paintings in the palaces of Jericho and

⁶ Busink 1980, 1144. See also De Blaauw 2007, 247-249.

⁷ Flavius Josephus, *Bel.Jud.* 5.5.6.208, 222-224 (exterior), 5.5.4.210 (entrance hall). Nothing on the interior of the sanctum. Cf. Busink 1980, 1140-1152. He also gives other sources. See also Freyberger 1998, 118-120 and Chyutin 2006, 143-167.

⁸ Busink 1980, 1143-1148.

⁹ Busink 1980, 1144. See Savignac and Horsfield 1935; Kirkbridge 1960; Freyberger 1998, 41-44; Rozenberg 2008, 391-392, figs. 478-481.

¹⁰ Savignac and Horsfield 1935, 250, fig. 3: the lower parts had no flutings and were red.

¹¹ Savignac and Horsfield 1935, 252-253, figs. 6-7: the panel between columns 4 and 5. Later on, they describe the panel between columns 10 and 11 (p. 257-258, fig. 11): red dado

and vertical bands in yellow, blue, white, and red. I wonder whether these vertical panels might not be representations of the veneering of marble blocks rather than indistinct smallish panels, also mentioned in Rozenberg 2008, 392, fig. 481.

¹² Kirkbridge 1960, 73-78, esp. 78 (phase C). On p. 80 the decorations are attributed to phase C again and a graffito should dated to AD 147.

¹³ Kirkbridge 1960, 85-92.

¹⁴ Negev 1977, 377-378. In his list of monuments on p. 383 he suggests the early century first AD. This is reiterated by Freyberger 1998, 42 and Rozenberg 2008, 391-392. Freyberger 1998, 310-34 also mentions paintings in a temple at Qasr al-Darih.

Fig. 49 Theadelphia, Temple of Pnepheros, Heron of door post, now Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain, inv. 20223 (from *LIMC* V.2, 286).



Masada, and was used uninterruptedly in the region. The late first and entire second century, therefore, would be the period in which the small shrine, including its decorations, was in use, but the reign of Aretas IV is the most probable moment of erection and decoration of the monument.

At Petra temple paintings are known in the sanctuary of Dushara. The interior was decorated with painted plaster, whereas the outer walls had a decoration including a number of imported motifs (some from Rome, such as Pompeian style frescoes).¹⁵ Other shrines like Qasr el-Bint, the Great Southern Temple and the Temple of the Winged Lions were adorned with stucco reliefs.¹⁶

Regarding Egypt, there must have been many local shrines adorned with paintings, mainly following the colourful, pictorial tradition of the ancient Egyptians. Moreover, the modest shrines, constructed out of mud-brick, were covered with plaster that, in turn, got painted decorations, in all cases fragile and not technically well made. However, rather few examples have come to my attention, and those are especially in the Fayum area. The first is the Temple of Pnepheros in Theadelphia. Here the crocodile god was venerated from the second century BC onwards and his cult still flourished in the Antonine period, the time when the paintings were executed. Evaristo Breccia studied the complex in the early 1920s and published a rather lengthy description of the remains. Through a vestibule the visitor reached a large courtyard, where he saw the entrance to a second courtyard flanked by sphinx statues. A room on the left side of the vestibule contained remains of decorations and probably all mud-brick walls in the complex were originally covered with paint.¹⁷ One figural scene in this room can be described and drawn: it shows a procession in honour of Pnephoros who is lying on a bier carried by two pairs of priests clad in white skirts. The animal is covered by a white sheet, leaving his head uncovered. This is adorned with a sort of Egyptian double crown with the uraeus and feathers. Other men are in front of him, probably approaching the bearers to greet the god.¹⁸ The background is plain but for a small palm tree. On the upper side there is a garland.

The temple building itself has two courtyards connected to it. In the second one Breccia found paintings on a poor layer of stucco adorning the posts flanking the entrance to the vestibule of the sanctum. He noted that

¹⁵ Richardson 2002, 69; Freyberger 1998, 18-21. Richardson 2002, 71 also mentions the 'Great Temple', but here we probably are dealing with another type of building. Another complex seen by Richardson (2002, 42) as having paintings is the temple of Nebu in Palmyra. However, this was richly decorated with reliefs. The back walls of the colonnades would have been covered with brightly coloured frescoes with religious scenes, but I do not know of such murals, and rely on Colledge 1976 and Kaiser 2002. Kaiser 2002, 89-99,

gives the various names of the god, a son of the Babylonian Marduk-Bel (Nabu; one also finds Nebo). Kaiser outlines the theological implications of this figure who was equated with Apollo.

¹⁶ Rozenberg 2008, 385-391, figs. 469-477.

¹⁷ See Breccia 1926, pl. LX; Bingen 1994, 45-46; Gazda 2004, 37, fig. 64.

¹⁸ Breccia 1926, 105-106, pl. LXIV, 1, 3.

their quality is bad. Here two variations of the *heros equitans* could be seen. Breccia reported that attempts had been made to strip the murals to save them.¹⁹ He could also observe the presence of previous layers underneath. Breccia's illustrations show the left pillar on which there was a man in military attire flanked by a horse on the right and a tripod with a bowl and a snake on his left.²⁰ The head is surrounded by a radiated orange nimbus and is crowned by a double peacock feather. He holds a spear in his left hand and pours incense next to him with his right hand, over a small pillar with a flame in the shape of an egg. Next to that is a small black servant holding a box with incense. A cockerel can also be seen, whereas under the vertical line there is a small yellow crocodile. The man is being crowned by a flying Nike seen in the upper part of the image. The background is empty. Two inscriptions inform us about this figure, one (1) at the left of the soldier's head, another (2) longer one between the vertical line and the crocodile:

(1) Ἡρώων Σούβαττος ὑπὲρ εὐχαριστίας ἀνεθηκων [sic] ἐπ' ἀ<γα>θῶι.

Heron Soubattos because of piety dedicated to the Good One.

(2) ἐπὶ ἀγαθῶι Ἡρώωνι Σουβάττωι.

To the good Heron Soubattos.

The other pillar contained a similar (or perhaps the same) soldier riding on a horse to the right above a crocodile on a bier (fig. 49). Pnepheros-crocodile has the same head gear as the one described in the first room. The soldier is seen almost frontally, facing the viewer, and holds his right hand stretched backwards, offering a libation from a patera to a large snake turned around a partly preserved tree. Apart from the nimbus, a set of three turrets adorns his head. On the top right a military person swinging an axe in his right hand is moving to the right. He holds a spear adorned with fillets and a garland in his left hand.²¹ In the lower register a dedication can be read [ι missing in the datifs]:

Εὐτύχως τῷ κυρίῳ Σούχῳ ἐπὶ ἀγαθῶ πασικαίου.

Happily to the lord Souchos for the good of the all-burning.

These texts point to the presence of *Heron Soubattos* next to *Souchos* or *Pnepheros* in the sanctuary. The antechamber of the cella was also plastered and Breccia reports three layers of paintings, damaged by smoke from candles and torches. He distinguished some images of Egyptian gods like *Sarapis* and *Khnum* seated on thrones and clad in rich garments.²² The cella itself, finally, also possessed figural scenes showing gods and animals (including a snake) and *Pnepheros* in the form of a crocodile. The Nile is seen above the central niche, shown in double form heraldically facing each other and flanking *Pnepheros* in a human shape with the head of a crocodile.²³

Heron was also venerated in a temple of his own in Magdola, discovered in 1902 by Pierre Jouguet. Here the same themes were seen in painted form.²⁴ Jouguet gives a description of various scenes, but unfortunately does

¹⁹ E. Will, *LIMC* V (1990) 391-394 s.v. Heron reports them under nos. 1-2 (with photo) as being in the museum in Alexandria, inv. nos. 20223 and 20225. Will also has the examples from Magdola, his nos. 5-6 (destroyed; see *infra*). He discusses the problematic nature and history of Heron, possibly to be connected with the Thracian *heros equitans* (cf. Bingen 1994, 46). Will gives references to the two temples. On Heron see also Bingen 1994 and Nachtergaele 1996, who discuss inscriptions and figural monuments respectively from the same area representing this god, partly

also discussed in Walker 2000, 124-126. Nachtergaele 1996, 135 mentions the two temples.

²⁰ Breccia 1926, 110-112, pls. LVII-LVIII.

²¹ Breccia 1926, 112-113, pl. LIX.

²² Breccia 1926, 115-116, pl. LX-LXI.2 (two seated gods).

²³ Breccia 1926, 116-117, pl. LXIV.2, LXV.3.

²⁴ Jouguet 1902, 355-357. Breccia 1926, 113 note 1 cites some lines from this report. See also Bingen 1994, 45 and note 611.



Fig. 50 Dakhleh Oasis, Temple of Tutu (photo O. Kaper). For a colour version of this figure, see page 243.

not illustrate them so that a precise reconstruction remains beyond reach. Seven images are recorded on the walls of the Propylon, dating to the beginning of the second century AD. Three of them show a standing warrior with a horse next to him. Two others scenes show soldiers offering something (in one case a crab) to a snake, whereas another wall has a depiction of three enthroned persons in long robes. Among other scenes featured on pillars in this shrine Jouguet recognised Isis, Sarapis, affiliated gods and people making offerings.

These poor descriptions make clear that the shrines had paintings with a strongly determined iconography, showing the gods who lived here and their worshippers. The architecture of these monuments is indigenous and while Heron is shown as a Roman soldier, all other figures are Egyptian in nature. The relationship between Pnepheros and Heron at Theadelphia is not immediately clear: were they *συννάοι θεοί* or was Heron seen here as a sort of worshipper of this crocodile deity?

The famous bronze head of Augustus in the British Museum was found buried in front of a temple door at Meroe in modern Sudan.²⁵ The naos of this Hellenistic temple building was adorned with paintings featuring among others the king and queen of Ethiopia and their entourage. Some fragments of the east wall documented in old photographs show (on both sides) the lower parts of double life-size figures seated on thrones and resting their feet on footstools, all seen in Egyptian profile. Servants are standing behind the thrones. The footstools are adorned with representations of five captives. The decorations must date to a period in which the Ethiopians had an important position in this area, i.e. before the conquest by the Roman general and *praefectus Aegypti*

²⁵ Haynes 1983-1984. On the lost paintings: p. 178, pl. XXXII-XXXIII



Fig. 51 Dakhleh Oasis, Temple of Tutu, dado decoration (photo O. Kaper). For a colour version of this figure, see page 243.

Gaius or Publius Petronius between 25 and 20 BC.²⁶ Unfortunately, we do not know more about these ‘personal’ decorations and their context in the temple. Nor do we know the god or gods venerated here.

In the Dakhleh Oasis, in the southern part of Egypt’s Western Desert, the ancient site of Kellis (modern name: Ismant el-Kharab) has been explored thoroughly from 1986 onwards by an international group of scholars directed by Colin A. Hope. One of the interesting monuments explored is a temple dedicated to the Egyptian god Tutu consisting of various cult rooms within a *temenos* wall. As to our topic, the *mammisi* (formerly called Shrine I) is of great interest.²⁷ Olaf E. Kaper studied the wall paintings found here *in situ* on the mud-brick walls and in enormous quantities of small fragments. He was able to reconstruct the decorative scheme and the iconography of the figural elements. As a result, we see here a mix of pharaonic Egyptian and Roman elements (figs. 50-51). The lower part (2 m high) of the vaulted, rectangular room has a classical scheme consisting of a green dado decorated with oblong panels featuring rectangles imitating porphyritic stone within red, white, and black borders, alternating with Egyptian-style lotus flower motifs. Above this, the main zone consists of alternating yellow and red square panels framed by a continuous black band. At the centre of these panels is a *gorgoneion* within a frame crowned by a bird.²⁸ These figural details were largely destroyed, probably on purpose, at a later time and their condition contrasts with the good state of conservation of this section of the walls as a whole.

²⁶ Haynes 1983-1984, 178. As to Petronius, Haynes refers to O. Stein, Petronius (21), RE XIX.1 (1937) 1197-1199, where Meroe is mentioned. But see Bagnall 1985 on this man, called Gaius. On the political situation see E.S. Gruen, in Cambridge Ancient History² 10 (1996) 149-150. The head

of Augustus, according to Haynes, would have been buried there on purpose before this action.

²⁷ Kaper 1997a-b, 2002, 2003. A *mammisi* is the shrine where the birth of a god is venerated.

²⁸ Hope and Whitehouse 2006, 328.

The black band has a rich vine scroll with greenish leaves and yellow and red bunches of grapes. A black and yellow border separates this section from the white upper zone that goes over into the vault and contains four horizontal registers in which purely Egyptian figures are depicted in mostly unmixed colours. The linear style might suggest the imitation of shallow reliefs known from other parts of this temple complex and elsewhere in traditional Egyptian temple decoration. Reliefs would be difficult to insert because of the vault and moreover were extremely expensive.

Kaper's meticulous studies²⁹ made clear that Tutu was venerated here with his mother Neith and his wife Tapsais. Among the figures are some 400 gods and numerous priests divided over some thirty scenes. Hieroglyphic captions provide names and titles for the gods. The southern wall has two offering scenes with 37 and 27 priests respectively, who possibly represent the cult ministers of the sanctuary itself. The central part of the vaulted ceiling was again decorated with classical designs that survive only in fragments. The vine scrolls in the Greco-Roman part make sense in the context of Tutu's association with wine. Greco-Roman taste could have seen the decoration as fitting to Dionysos. As to dating, there are no precise clues like royal cartouches and on the basis of various elements Kaper proposes that the shrine was decorated in the second century AD. I agree with this date, even if there are very few decorative elements which can be dated. It is the palette of yellow and red, however, that will dominate wall painting in the first half of the second century. This is especially evident in Ostia, where the House of the Muses is an outstanding example of this fashion.³⁰ The combination of the indigenous and Greco-Roman features is a well-known phenomenon in Egyptian art that we know very well from many tombs in Alexandria.³¹ I recall the mix of styles and iconographies in the Temple of Isis in Pompeii (Chapter 7).

A very small number of instances of temple painting in the Roman provinces of Africa should be mentioned. Apart from the shrines for the emperor's cult in Sabratha, Bulla Regia and Luxor (see Chapter 6), two temples in Thugga (nowadays Dougga) in Tunisia have remains of painted decorations. The impressive sanctuary of Saturnus, built in 195 AD, contains a large portico and three cellae on the western side. According to the very short description by the French excavator Claude Poinssot, the vault of the central cella (g) was adorned with a stucco relief showing vines.³² The second case is that of the prosaically labelled Temple B from the late second century, where mosaics, marble veneer and paintings have been found.³³

CONCLUSIONS

The few examples of painted shrines presented in this chapter definitely do not represent the whole corpus of painted decoration in temples in this area. Nevertheless, they show two distinct groups of decorations, each with their own characteristics which permit me to formulate some general observations.

The area of ancient Syria, here represented by monuments in modern Israel and Jordan, contains monuments constructed in limestone and adorned with plaster decorations, both in stucco relief and painting, consisting of imitations of precious materials and architectural elements. In this respect they reflect the fashion followed simultaneously in the centre of the Mediterranean world and known as First and Second Styles. The

²⁹ See lastly Kaper 2003, 140-147, 269-292 cat. R48-R73. Helen Whitehouse is preparing the final publication of these decorations.

³⁰ See Mols 1999 and 2003.

³¹ See Venit 2002.

³² Poinssot 1958, 65 (= 1983, 65). Cf. the following note for other references.

³³ Khanoussi and Strocka 2002, 89, 90-92, pls. 12d-e, 13e, 14d.

The dedication of the temple is problematic, as I deduce from S. Ritter, *JR* 19 (2006) 551-558, esp. 549-552, in his review of S. Saint-Amans, *Topographie religieuse de Thugga (Dougga), ville romaine d'Afrique proconsulaire (Tunisie)*, Paris 2004, which I could not consult. Here the sanctuary is attributed to Liber Pater, whereas Ritter suggests Concordia.

painters apparently combined local traditions with the Roman decorative language and focused on imitating costly and fancy marble revetments. As far as we know from the monuments discussed, figural elements are almost completely absent. The houses of the gods apparently did not contain iconographic allusions to their official inhabitants. In Israel this might be a consequence of the local, Jewish rule not to depict images of their God, as we saw above, but we must be cautious when drawing absolute conclusions. Strikingly, the temples in Gerasa and Petra also lack figural scenes, while they have a similar strong accentuation of precious building materials and architectural elements.

Egypt displays an entirely different scenario in that the few shrines preserved are extremely rich in figural scenes but lack architectural additions and marble imitations. Colour is much less important than the design. We mostly see references to the traditional gods of the Egyptians, including the worshippers. 'Modern' additions like Sarapis and Heron are aptly integrated into this local language that remained in use until Late Antiquity, even leaving its traces in the early Christian art of the Copts. Egypt has many good examples of decorative schemes. Walls are not architecturally subdivided into dado, middle and upper zones, but into horizontal registers containing figural scenes. Sometimes the dado contains references to marble veneer and the like, but the remainder is purely Egyptian. The friezes illustrate the life and history of the god or gods venerated in the temple and, therefore, are distinctive elements in recognizing a temple's cult and dedication. The mix of old and new gods and worshippers is particular to Egypt and has its counterpart in tombs of the Hellenistic and Roman period. All in all, Egypt has a decorative language of its own based on a long-standing tradition of reliefs and paintings as well as depictions in scrolls like the Books of the Dead.

6 Painted Shrines Dedicated to the Roman Emperor

Several monuments that represent an important religious feature during the Imperial era, namely the cult of the (defunct) emperors, are relevant in the framework of this study and will be discussed in this chapter. There will be a particular focus on specific characteristics of their decoration. The Roman Empire had a vibrant cult of select emperors who were venerated in official temples, often in combination with the goddess Roma, but also in small shrines built and looked after by private groups of *liberti* or citizens. While Augustus had set a good example by erecting a temple for his adoptive father Julius Caesar on the Forum Romanum, he remained reluctant to receive divine honours during his lifetime. Like Caesar Augustus, he was made *diuus* after his death and several other emperors followed. Gradually, this cult also came to include living emperors as well as dead emperors who had not been declared *diui*. Other members of the court could also be included in this veneration and entire dynasties, especially that of the Julio-Claudians, got galleries of statues that showed the family bonds and the intricate rights and duties to be borne by these elected families. In the following discussion, various monuments dedicated to the cult of the *augusti*, both *diui* and not, are presented. They display interesting iconographic programmes that mostly do not show portraits but gods associated with the respective town and the emperor of that moment.¹

In this respect, there is a highly important study by Beate Bollmann about small shrines or temples that were managed by *sodalitates*, or cultic associations, since it includes many data about the decoration of these sacral spaces.² The majority formed part of a bigger entity, for instance living quarters, whilst others were built in a precinct. Many *sodalitates* were managed by socially defined groups of citizens who looked after the cult of the deified emperors, the *Augustales*.

THREE CENTRES FOR IMPERIAL CULT IN HERCULANEUM

Three buildings in the northwestern corner of the excavated part of Herculaneum, situated at the crossroads of the alleged *decumanus maximus* and *cardo III*, are generally seen as public and/or religious monuments. Two of them are only known from eighteenth-century excavations and now only the façade from one building and a side wall from the other are visible. The third one, shown on maps from 1743 and 1752 and partly explored in those years, was completely unearthed in 1960-1961 by Alfonso de Franciscis and Maria Giuseppina Cerulli Irelli.³ The first bears the false, antiquarian name of 'Basilica', the second is labeled 'Galleria Noniana' thanks to

¹ On emperor's cult Klauck 1995, II, 17-74; Gradel 2002. On buildings (*augustea*) for this cult: A. Villi, *ThesCRA* IV (2005) 190-195. Statues: Boschung 2002.

² Bollmann 1998. See also Egelhaaf-Gaiser and Schäfer 2002; Francesco Marcattili, *Collegiorum sedes*, *ThesCRA* IV (2005) 216-219; De Blaauw 2007, 238; Judge 2007; Fejfer 2008, 73-89. On the presence of *Augustales* in Pompeian society see Petersen 2006, 57-83.

³ See the still valuable synopsis in Herrmann 1904-1950, 101-104; Maiuri 1958, 87-90. Cf. De Vos and De Vos 1982, 298-301 and 303-305; Balty 1991, 208-212; Pagano 1996; Pagano 2000, 86, 92; Pagano 2001; Boschung 2002, 119-125; Coralini 2005; Torelli 2005 (= *Eidola. International Journal of Classical Art History* 1, 2004, 118-149); Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006a, 368-369; Van Andringa 2009, 65-68, figs. 50-51.



Fig. 52 Herculaneum, *Aedes Augustalium*, unfinished murals (photo author). For a colour version of this figure, see page 244.

the find of five large statues of members of the *gens Nonia*, and the last one is commonly called ‘Collegio degli Augustali’. Modern names, which will prove to be correct, are *Augusteum*, *Basilica Noniana* and *Aedes Augustalium*. The scholarly debate centres around two major questions: what were these buildings used for and what is their chronology?

I will start with the *Aedes Augustalium*. It is incorporated into a block of houses and consists of a large, almost square room subdivided into three north-south aisles, each articulated by columns and antae into three open rooms. Two bases for statues of *Diuus Iulius* and *Diuus Augustus* stand against the central columns.⁴ All rooms, except for the central one at the rear, normally seen as the *cella*, are devoid of decorated floors, whereas the walls have black-painted lower zones and a white wash on the upper parts (fig. 52). These paintings form the preparatory layers for a decoration, not yet applied in AD 79. The room to the right of the *cella* contains remains of a

⁴ VI 21.24. De Vos and De Vos 1982, 300; Guadagno 1983, 159-166 (description of the structures); Ostrow 1985, 76-81; Etienne 1993; Torelli 2005, 110-112, figs. 5-10;

ThesCRA IV (2005) 218 no. 3, and bibliography in previous note. On the bases Boschung 2002, 121, 124 and Van Andringa 2009, 65-68; they refer to *CIL* X 1411-1412.

Fig. 53 Herculaneum, *Aedes Augustalium*, painted *sacellum* (photo author). For a colour version of this figure, see page 245.



carbonised bed and table.⁵ The parapet of the central light well (to be imagined as a sort of *atrium testudinatum*) has a red surface with what appear to be yellow lines, currently dirty and in a bad state of preservation.

The *sacellum* or, as we will see below, the inserted *lararium*-like chapel, occupies the central space and is the only piece to possess extensive floor and wall decorations. Their chronology is a matter of debate (figs. 53-55). The floor has a precious mosaic in *opus sectile*, which is unfortunately not in a good state of preservation. A marble incrustation covers the lower side of the walls for 142 cm; parts of it are preserved on the left and back walls. A square base made of stone and concrete stands in front of the back wall and reaches just over the height of the marbling. Above the marble revetments the walls have frescoes on each wall, subdivided into two horizontal and three vertical registers dominated by heavy architectural elements.⁶ The upper zones of all walls contain various small panels, some of them blue, as well as draperies, garlands and candelabra. The side walls also have

⁵ Mols 1999a, 26, 162-163 cat. no. 10, figs. 66-71 (bed), 174-176 cat. no. 17, figs. 106-110 (table). According to De Vos and De Vos 1982, 300 this room was the home of the guardian; his skeleton was found on the bed installed here.

⁶ The best images are those in *La pittura di Pompei*, Milan 1991, pl. 144-146 and in Mazzoleni and Pappalardo 2005, 34-35, 364-367. Reconstruction of the interior in Mühlentbrock and Richter 2005, 220 fig. 2.



Fig. 54 Herculaneum, *Aedes Augustalium*, north wall, Herakles and Acheloos (photo author). For a colour version of this figure, see page 246.

acroteria in the shape of chariots led by Nikai.⁷ Monochrome still lifes have been applied in the middle zone under the side panels. The central panel of the back wall is left blank apart from a wreath on top and contrasts with the colourful filling of the side walls. The white background apparently should form a neutral background for a statue that had to be placed on the base, erected at the centre of the back wall. The central panels of the side walls contain mythological images in which Herakles plays the main rôle. The right wall (fig. 54) shows how he defeats the river god Acheloos by breaking off his horn; this will become the *cornucopiae*, the horn of plenty. Both he and Acheloos had striven to marry Deianeira, daughter of Oineus, who is standing on the right in the background.⁸ The left wall shows the apotheosis of Herakles (fig. 55): Hera and Athena receive him, whereas Zeus is symbolised by a rainbow. Herakles is seated on a block and looks like a famous statue by Lysippos, the Herakles of Tarentum.⁹ There is a certain relationship between the two scenes in that Deianeira would be the

⁷ Moormann 1988, 104 no. 021; Pappalardo 1993 (but see *infra*). D. Mazzoleni in Mazzoleni and Pappalardo 2005, 35 explains the bigae as chariots of Helios, set against the white light of the sun. Scagliarini Corlàita 2006, 148, fig. 5: phoenix in the arch around the niche of the backwall of the cella (mistakenly identified as a side wall).

⁸ The Acheloos story is known from Ovid, *Met.* 9.1-88: the water god tells it to Theseus and pours him wine from his own horn! See Guadagno 1983, 159 note 5 and Moormann 1983, 176, followed by Pappalardo 1993; Fears 1999; Pagano 2000, 87; Torelli 2005, 110-111, figs. 9-10. De Vos and De Vos 1982, 300 interpret the scene as Poseidon and

Amyclone. The Acheloos theme is rare; cf. E. Soccà in Ghedini 2004, 53-66 who discusses the painting described by Philostratus, *Imagines* 4 and refers to our image (fig. 24). This picture is not included in the short list in *LIMC* I (1981) 28-29 s.v. Acheloos.

⁹ References in note 6. See also Coralini 2001, 29: the choice of the Lysippean model might form part of the *interpretatio romana* of the story according to the version narrated by Ovid (*Met.* 9.242-261). The gods clearly represent the trias capitolina. The scene has no parallels and is not listed in *LIMC* V (1990) s.v. Herakles.



Fig. 55 Herculaneum, *Aedes Augustalium*, south wall, Herakles on the Olympus with Hera, Athena and Zeus as a rainbow (photo author). For a colour version of this figure, see page 246.

instrument of Herakles' death on mount Oita since she gives him the cloak soaked with the poisonous blood of Nessos.

These scenes, at first sight, have no relationship with the cult of the emperors practiced here, unless we surmise that the head of Herakles represented the traits of Vespasian or Titus, who would thus become an equal to the biggest hero of all times. J. Rufus Fears has vigorously defended this proposal and sees a glorification of Titus in Herakles. In this view, the decorations would serve to emphasize the emperor's cult in the building. The horn of plenty would be the main symbol of this concept, symbolising *abundantia* gifted to the people by the emperor via the hands of Herakles as the divine mediator.¹⁰ Umberto Pappalardo views the chariots driven by Nikai in the upper zone of the walls an allusion to the *palaestra* and so to the *iuventus Herculensis*. His argument, as attractive as it seems, is unfortunately not supported by historical evidence proving the presence of such a *collegium* in Herculaneum and, as the position of the motifs in the upper part of the wall is secondary in respect to the central panels, the proposal should be accepted with extreme caution.¹¹ Bollmann argued that the images should be seen as general depictions of the benefits brought by Herakles and the actual emperor instead

¹⁰ R.J. Fears, Hercules and Abundantia Augusti, *AJA* 102 (1998) 404 [abstract]; Fears 1999. The identification of the portraits is problematic, as Fears indicates in note 6. Previously, I saw the Herakles as a Nero and dated the paintings to his reign (Moormann 1983). On reflection, I really cannot see any personal features in the two Herakles heads and I think that the idea of *portraits historiés* must be dismissed

entirely.

¹¹ Pappalardo 1993; Pappalardo 2001, 940-943, figs. 13-14. However, if Najbjerg is right with her interpretation of the *Augusteum* as a building of the *Augustales* and the *Iuventus* (Najbjerg 2002, 163) this might also be true for the *Aedes Augustalium* and then Pappalardo would be right.

of relating to a specific emperor.¹² Regardless, the principal connection is that of Herakles with the town of Herculaneum itself, which had been founded by him according to the tradition and still bears his name.¹³ We must also take into account the presence of the sculpture on the base in front of the back wall: the height and limited dimensions speak against the presence of a portrait statue in full size and so it must have been a bust like those on the bases in front of the cella. In all cases, it was a portrait of an emperor who seemed to be crowned by the wreath in the painting behind him.

The inscriptions are essential in determining the building's function as a shrine for the emperor.¹⁴ Doubt has been raised about the evidence from the marble slab now on view in the front room. According to some scholars it might have originated from another complex. The slab was found three metres above the ancient level and could have been pushed down from elsewhere. Giuseppe Guadagno gave more evidence for the interpretation as an *aedes Augustalium* based on the graffiti found here.¹⁵ Robert Etienne made a comparison between the architecture of the *Aedes Augustalium* and well-defined seats of *Augustales* like that at Misenum (see *infra*) and came to the conclusion that the Herculaneum building cannot have been an *aedes Augustalium*. It must be an *Augusteum*, a shrine dedicated to Augustus by the *Augustales*. The *decuriones* also made an *Augusteum*, the building on the other side of the *cardo* from which some paintings have been found. This means that the different social groups had their own shrines for the emperor's cult.¹⁶ This interpretation does not take the surroundings into account. As has been made clear by Ittai Gradel, the *augustales* formed a group within the local *ordo*, just below that of the Senate who showed their (presumed) importance by euergetism in the form of the erection of monuments devoted to the emperor and their own town. They were not necessarily active as priests. The relative lavishness of our building expresses the desire for prestige.¹⁷

In sum, it is likely that the building served as the seat of the *Augustales*. They could carry out services for the emperor or they could have engaged a priest and sat in the outer space. The side rooms, containing furniture, could have been used for reunions in the *Vereinshaus*.¹⁸ The name *aedes Augustalium*, therefore, would be correct, but we must not see the building as a shrine only; this forms the central and most important part of it, forming a sort of king-size *lararium*.

Before discussing the other two buildings, *Augusteum* and *Basilica Noniana*, a word must be said about the dating of the *Aedes Augustalium*. Guadagno recognised three phases: that of its founding in the early Empire, a thorough renovation in the time of Claudius or Nero (preferably the latter) and remanagement on a minor scale shortly before the eruption.¹⁹ His evidence is mainly based on the inscriptions, as the painting techniques and paintings themselves are not particularly indicative.²⁰ Furthermore, the distinction between the two latter phases

¹² Bollmann 1998, 348-354.

¹³ Cf. Moormann 1983. See Coralini 2001, 28-30 and 2005, and U. Pappalardo in Mühlenbrock and Richter 2005, 69-79 on Hercules as a publicly venerated hero.

¹⁴ Guadagno 1983; Bollmann 1998, 348-354; Boschung 2002, 121, 124; Torelli 2005, 110, 111-112. A. de Franciscis, *EAA Supplemento* (1973) 311 s.v. Ercolano and De Vos and De Vos 1982, 300 propose a function as the curia of the local senate, eventually combined with the seat of the *Augustales*.

¹⁵ Guadagno 1983, 170 (inscriptions); Guadagno 1988 (graffiti).

¹⁶ Etienne 1993.

¹⁷ Gradel 2002, 229-230 (mentioning Herculaneum). Wallace-Hadrill 2004, 121-126, also sees the monument as an upgrade made by members of the 'sub-elite'.

¹⁸ The skeleton found might be a refugee who did not suc-

ceed in escaping from the 79 disaster, but see De Vos (here note 5), whose interpretation is like the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fancy interpretations of skeletons from Pompeii.

¹⁹ Guadagno 1983, 166-169, 172. He is followed by Najbjerg 1997, 121 and Coralini 2005, 352. A good overview of the discussion in Ganschow 1989, 87-92; he also sees the period of Claudius or Nero as the last decoration phase. Mühlenbrock 2003, 132 follows the Neronian dating for the complex.

²⁰ See, however, Guadagno 1983 who uses these elements for his reasoning. Cf. Moormann 1983, 175, conceived as an addendum to Guadagno's longer study, where the chronological frame suggested by Guadagno was adopted and led to the mistaken interpretation of Hercules' heads as portraits of Nero (cf. note 10).

Fig. 56 Herculaneum, *Augusteum*, Theseus and Minotauros after the restoration of 2007 (photo Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome).



is not convincing. In my opinion, the actual building and interior decoration should be dated to the period of Vespasian and Titus. The main reasons are the unfinished state of the decorations in the rooms surrounding the cella (black dadoes and white middle and upper zones) and the presence of a marble revetment in the dado of the cella. The latter is, as elsewhere in the Vesuvian cities, not to be expected before the death of Nero. The decorations in his Golden House formed the first example of the practice of applying real marble veneer. The iconography of the Hercules scenes does not contradict this statement. In conclusion, the complex may have been erected in the beginning of the first century but the building now visible is dated to the late 70s of the first century AD.

A connection with the building opposite, the *Augusteum*, could have existed if we accept Etienne's proposal that this would have enhanced the prestige of the *Aedes Augustalium*. In this context, the two *tetrapyla* between the façades of the buildings on the *decumanus maximus* constitute important elements.²¹

²¹ Mühlenbrock 2003, 129-136, pl. 2. Torelli 2005, 118-119 views this construction as a chalcidicum (cf. Fentress 2005, 230, fig. 3.2 and 5: possibly used for selling slaves; contra Trümper 2009). The cleaning project at the northern side of the Decumanus Maximus started in 2006 under direction

of Maria Paola Guidobaldi will possibly clarify many smaller problems. She informed me (personal communication, October 2006) that these clearings have already shown that the 1752 plan by Cochin and Bellicard is reliable vis-à-vis the entrance.



Fig. 57 Herculaneum, *Augusteum*, Herakles and Telephos (photo author). For a colour version of this figure, see page 247.

The *Augusteum*²² was explored in 1739 and 1761 and produced a great number of spectacular finds like statues of the emperors Augustus, Claudius and Titus in marble and bronze. The two equestrian statues in marble of Marcus Nonius Balbus, a member of the above-mentioned local elite, were not displayed inside but next to the *Augusteum*.²³ Maiuri compared the structure to that of Eumachia on the south-eastern side of the forum in Pompeii, whereas Mario Torelli sees parallels in gymnasia in Magna Graecia.²⁴ That means that there was a large piazza surrounded by a portico and filled with these statues. The four-sided portico contained shallow niches in the side walls and a deeper rectangular and two apsidal niches in the back wall.²⁵ As to paintings, some 23

²² Ruggiero 1885, XXXIV-XXXVI; Najbjerg 1997; T. Najbjerg, The "Basilica" in Herculaneum and the growth of an imperial cult center, *AJA* 102 (1998) 401-402 [abstract]; Najbjerg 2002, 159-162; Boschung 2002, 119-121, 121-124; *ThesCRA* IV (2005) 192, 194 no. 6 s.v. *Augusteum* (named 'Galleria Balba'); Torelli 2005; Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006a, 386-387; Najbjerg 2007; A. Allroggen-Bedel in *Ercolano* 2008, 34-45, 251-256; I. Bragantini in Coarelli 2009, 386-391; Van Andringa 2009, 60-65, figs. 44-48. Coralini 2001, 29-30 follows Najbjerg. The name 'basilica' had been given by the eighteenth-century antiquarians who associated the building with an inscription about the restoration of the basilica by Marcus Nonius Balbus (*CIL* X 1425; see Maiuri 1958, 90).

²³ Allroggen-Bedel 1974, 1983; Adamo Muscettola 1982. De

Vos and De Vos 1982, 303-305 present the older scholarly debate and give no interpretation of their own. See also Ganschow 1989, 82; Pappalardo 1997; Mühlenbrock and Richter 2005, 287-290; Torelli 2005, 117-140. For the statues references quoted and A. Adamo Muscettola in Pagano 2000, 97-115 with bibl. and Hallett 2005, 176-178, pls. 100-101. On the equestrian statues mainly Adamo Muscettola 1982. For Balbus also De Kind 1998, 23-25.

²⁴ Maiuri 1958, 88-89; approved by Balty 1991, 208 and Najbjerg 1997, 115-123. Torelli 2005, 135-139, figs. 12, 30. The Eumachia building has recently been interpreted as a slave market although other functions are not excluded (Fentress 2005, 225-230; see also Grimaldi 2003, 39; contra Trümper 2009).

²⁵ A good axonometric drawing in Pagano 2000, 86.

Fig. 58 Herculaneum, *Augusteum*, Cheiron and Achilles (photo author). For a colour version of this figure, see page 247.



fragments were removed from the interior walls in 1739 and 1761. Paul Herrmann gave a first description of the location of the main pieces and Agnes Allroggen-Bedel and Tina Najbjerg succeeded admirably in reassembling them as completely as possible.²⁶ The most celebrated ones come from the middle zones of the apsidal niches in the back wall and show Herakles and Theseus in a majestic pose (figs. 56-57). Herakles finds his son Telephos in Arcadia on mount Parthenios - who might be the winged figure on the right, if she is not the nymph Parthenos - while Arcadia is seated at the left and dominates thanks to her dimensions (but see *infra*). On the other panel, Theseus is shown in the presence of a woman (upper left hand corner; see *infra*) and received by Athenian children after slaying the Minotaur). Moreover, there are the *paideia* scenes of Cheiron and Achilles and Marsyas

²⁶ Extensive descriptions in Herrmann 1904-1950, 101-117; Allroggen-Bedel 1983; Najbjerg 1997, 254-348. The following items are in the National Museum of Archaeology, Naples; the numbers are those of the museum's inventory. 8540 (architecture), 8828 (young man) 8864 (Hylas and the Nymphs), 8903 (priest), 8949 (attendant), 8962 (attendant), 8976 (Medea), 9006 (Herakles brings the Kalydonian to Eurystheus hidden in a pit), 9007 (Herakles and Stymphalian birds), 9008 (Herakles finds Telephos), 9011 (Herakles and the Nemean lion), 9012 (Herakles strangles snakes), 9027 (Herakles and Admetos), 9049 (Theseus kills Minotaurus), 9054 (slave/athlete), 9109 (Cheiron and Achilles), 9151 (Marsyas and Olympos), 9239 (Hesperos), 9290 (woman), 9374 (man with chair), 9431 (architec-

ture), 9522 (Athena and Argo), 9553 (Zeus in clouds), 9825 (architecture; from one of the niches, if Moormann 1988, 102-103 no. 019 is right), 9931 (architecture), 9946 (attendant, doubtful). The Musée du Louvre in Paris possesses P17 (head of woman), P18 (Leda). Reconstruction: Najbjerg 1997, 282, pl. 11-12. She also reconstructs the two groups of paintings found in 1739 and 1761 respectively. Ruggiero 1885, XXXVI lists another [?] Leda (= *Pitture d'Ercolano* IV, 21) and a Bellerophon (*ibid.* III, 251) as well as a Athena plus two figures (Helbig 1868, no. 1259). Camillo Paderni ordered three pieces to be destroyed (fountain with bird, mask, nude man). On copies and free use of them, see Bergmann 1995, 96-97, fig. 7.



Fig. 59 Herculaneum, *Augusteum*, Marsyas and Olympos (photo author).

and Olympos (figs. 58-59).²⁷ The Cheiron image filled the dado under Telephos, Marsyas that under Theseus. Their concave surfaces indicate that both were in the niches at the right and left sides of the rear wall.²⁸ In the reconstruction (fig. 61) a fragment showing an architrave, with caryatids and acroteria (fig. 60), can be inserted, possibly to be connected with a tiny golden column visible on the red strip left of the Telephos. On top of the curved upper frame of this panel acroteria in the form of golden fantasy animals with tails ending in scrolls are

²⁷ The attribution of these paintings to the *Augusteum* is based on the 1752 description by Cochin and Bellicard (Cochin and Bellicard 1752 and 1757, 15-18, pl. 5: 'chalcidicum'), but see also previous testimonies of Marcello de Venuti from 1739 (in De Venuti 1749, 97, 100-101), Charles de Brosses from 1739 (De Brosses 1991, letters 33 and 35, pp. 571-572, 600 [after *Lettres sur l'état actuel de la ville souterraine d'Herculée*, Dijon 1750]). Winckelmann's *Sendschreiben* from 1762 (Winckelmann 1997, 82-83 [= 1762, 26]) suggests the provenance from a round temple dedicated to Herakles. See the commentary in Winckelmann 1997, 169-170 (cf. pp. 170-172 on these paintings and 172-173 on the Balbus statues, always with extensive bibliographical references). However, no indications of the presence of a round temple next to the theatre are given on any map from the same period (Pierre Bardet 1743, Cochin and Bellicard 1752) and the find of the *Augusteum* with its niches is

evident from the beginning. It is not difficult to encounter such confusion: three galleries were explored simultaneously in 1739 (see Ruggiero 1885, 23, d.d. 9 May 1739; 44, d.d. 25 November 1739). Besides, an eyewitness account by De Venuti (De Venuti 1749, IX) does not mention a round temple, but one or more niches (1749, 100-101): "Ma ciò che in vero superò l'idea di ogni aspettazione, e portò a me un infinito meraviglioso piacere, fu la scoperta di due grandissime Pitture Storate, che credo fossero lateralmente nel fondo del medesimo Tempio [Herakles], conciosiacosachè terminate le pitture del muro andante, dipinto, come ho detto, e trovati alcuni passi d'infrante colonne, si vide il muro medesimo inclinare gentilmente come in due nicchie assai grandi, ove si scoprirono figure bellissime della naturale altezza con suoi colori freschi, vivi, disposte, ed intese a meraviglia." And De Brosses (1991, 600) writes: "Les vestiges d'un temple d'Hercule, voisin du théâtre." There is nothing about a round temple



Fig. 60 Herculaneum, *Augusteum*, architectural fragment (photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, no. 74.1397).

still discernible. The Cheiron panel has a palm tree at its right side. Admittedly, this reconstruction has its weaknesses, especially as far as the two *paideia* groups in the dado are concerned. As a rule, this zone does not contain large figures, but panels, eventually with small figures like caryatids and atlases (see note 69), and in the imperial period marble veneer (real or imitated). The *paideia* scenes, however, are no ordinary *pinakes* of a middle zone either and a position in the upper zone creates problems for the architectural background.

as suggested by Winckelmann! Christoph Gottlob Heyne dismissed this idea in his review of Winckelmann's fundamental book (Winckelmann 2001, 111). De Brosses (1991, 563) also refers to "the ruins of a basilica" where a statue of Vitellius had been found. Cochin and Bellicard 1757, 30-34, pls. 15-17, extensively discuss the Theseus, Telephos and Cheiron & Achilleus. This means that in front of the wall with the two large niches were columns, which match with the peristyle of the *Augusteum*. Therefore, there is no reason to dismiss the traditional attribution of the murals to this building. An exhibition in Rome in the winter of 2007-2008 showed the 'Theseus' after a radical restoration (M. Lista in Nava 2007, 117-119; here fig. 56).

²⁸ As the groups are free evocations of living figures modelled after sculpture groups, their position could not be different.

Besides, the background suggests an environment of lavish marble incrustation (Moormann, 1988, 46, 57, 69, 102-104; cf. Herrmann 1904-1950, 102), which contrasts with the pastoral setting of the two Arcadian figures Cheiron and Marsyas. Or do we have to conceive of them as standing in a palace? Nevertheless, Najbjerg 1997, 282 and pl. 11 suggests the lower section the Theseus and Herakles paintings and above them, separated by architectural elements, those of the *paideia*. Cf. A. Allroggen-Bedel in Ercolano 2008, 41 on the location. Pesando 2003 uses the motif of the suggested sculptures as a basis for his identification (see *infra*). Hölscher 1971, 45, pl. 9.2 aptly characterises the Cheiron: "Der Kentaur ist kein Naturbursche, sein Kopf könnte fast der eines Philosophen sein." He compares the couple to Aristotle and Alexander the Great.

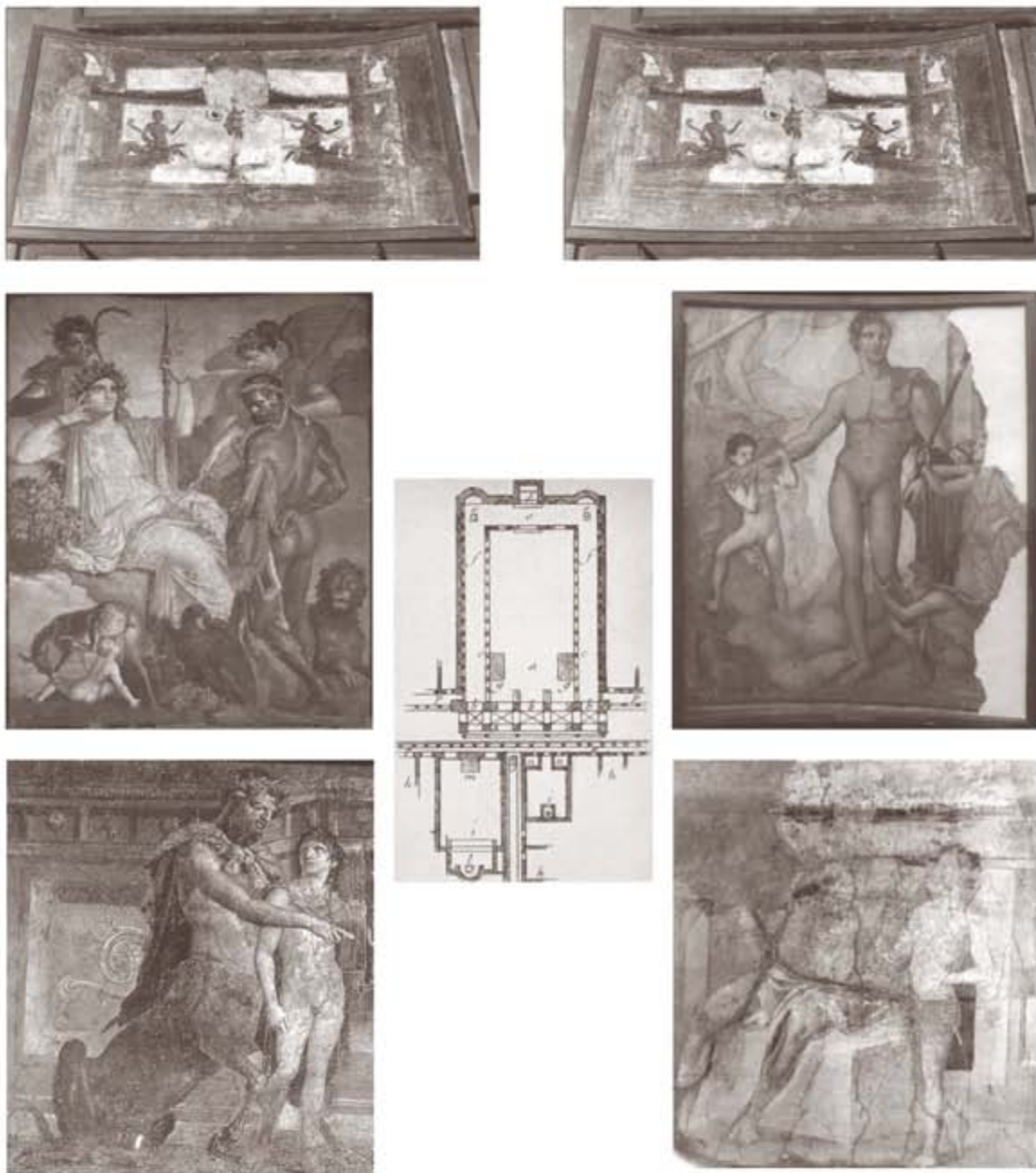


Fig. 61 Herculaneum, *Augusteum*, reconstruction of the niches (montage author) with the use of figs 56-60 and the plan from Cochin and Bellicard 1752, pl. 5. For a colour version of this figure, see page 248.

Further 'activities' of Herakles include killing the snakes in his cradle (fig. 62),²⁹ Admetos and Alkestis, and the struggles with the Nemean lion, the Caledonian boar and the Stymphalian birds.³⁰ Other fragments show

²⁹ Good photo in Nava 2007, 110. Outside the yellow moulding serving as the frame of the panel one can see red surfaces on both sides in the lower part separated from green surfaces in the upper part by means of a horizontal yellow strip with some moulding.

³⁰ Croisille includes most of the Herakles scenes from the Augusteum in his discussion of 'cycles', but does not discuss them within their context (indeed none of the other paintings are discussed in context). His material is useful for those who look for comparisons and connections with

Fig. 62 Herculaneum, *Augusteum*, Herakles kills the snakes (photo author). For a colour version of this figure, see page 247.



(cult?) ministers and women. The half-preserved version of a *Medea Looking at Her Children* – of which model we know other replicas - must not be left out of this list (fig. 63).³¹

Maiuri saw the *Augusteum* as the *curia* of the local *ordo decurionum* embellished by statues of emperors and local outstanding citizens.³² Schefold argued that the paintings come from a building built in honour of Vespasian.³³ De Franciscis compared the shrine at Misenum (see *infra*) with this building in terms of its function and interpreted it accordingly as a *collegium* of *Augustales*.³⁴ Allroggen-Bedel proposed that this enigmatic complex is a building for the imperial cult, forming a centre for emperor's cults together with the two other complexes. It could have been constructed and decorated with statues under Claudius, but more portraits like that of Titus and inscriptions were added under the Flavians.³⁵ In a successive paper she connected it with the *Augustales*.³⁶ Jean Balty made a thorough study of the Roman *curia* and saw no points of correspondence in the *Augusteum* or the other buildings. The *Augusteum* might be a large commercial hall, whereas the 'Collegio degli Augustali' indeed should be the *aedes Augustalium*. He argues that the function of the third edifice remains,

contemporary literary evocations: Croisille 1982, 149, 153, pl. 67.2 (Hylas), pl. 73 (Kalydonian Boar), pl. 72.2 (Stymphalian Birds), pl. 72.1 (Nemean Lion). Lorenz 2005, 218 also speaks about a cyclical narration, but omits the cases in the adjacent *Aedes Augustalium* and *Basilica Noniana*.

³¹ Mühlenbrock and Richter 2005, 289 cat. 6.4. See also Croisille 1982, 50, pl. 14 and Bergmann 1995, 96, fig. 6 for the *Medea* from the House of the Dioscuri and the *pinax* with this theme by Timomachos.

³² Maiuri 1958, 90: "Le statue imperiali, le grandiose pitture allusive alle origini della città, le statue infine onorarie del più benemerito cittadino ercolanese [Marcus Nonius Balbus – EMM] e della sua gens, servivano a dare maggiore nobiltà alla sede più augusta della vita pubblica di Ercolano." The other two buildings might also be *curiae*. Maiuri's comparison

with the *Eumachia* building (see *supra*) should have made him cautious in interpreting this as a *curia*. De Caro 1991b, 18 compares the *Eumachia* building with the *Augusteum* and argues they were both complexes for imperial cult.

³³ Schefold 1952, 136. His discussion of the main paintings is a pleasure to read (see quotation, *infra*), but full of personal opinions and allusions, highly overestimating the works' artistic quality (p. 136-142).

³⁴ De Franciscis 1991, 50.

³⁵ Allroggen-Bedel 1974, esp. 106-108; quotation on p. 108. She makes clear that this area was not the forum as had been proposed previously. On dating also Allroggen-Bedel 1983, 153: "frühestens claudisch".

³⁶ Allroggen-Bedel 1983, 150, 153-154.



Fig. 63 Herculaneum, *Augusteum*, Medea (photo author).

for the moment, unknown.³⁷ Even if the architectural aspects are problematic, and there exists a lot of confusion about the exact location of the statuary found, the decoration could have suggested to Balty that the building had a purely commercial function.

Discussions about the significance and dating of the complex and its decorations are often intermingled. Entirely rejectable is the attribution to the era of the Second Style as proposed by Mabel M. Gabriel.³⁸ It is clear that all elements, especially architectural elements 8540, 9825 and 9931, point to the Fourth Style and, therefore, to the period from Claudius to AD 79. The internal development and chronology of this phase of wall painting are hotly debated and, restricting myself to the paintings under discussion, the opinions are divided between Claudius and the Flavians, namely the early and late phases of the Fourth Style in Campania. Both sides of the debate offer historical arguments, namely the important presence of the emperor in the iconographic programme of the complex. A Claudian date has been advocated by Allroggen-Bedel and, most recently, Najbjerg.³⁹ The time of Vespasian and Titus is supported by Herrmann, Salomonson, Schefold, Alan G.M. Little, Cécile Dulière and Françoise Gury.⁴⁰ Schefold suggested that heroes had a symbolical function of cleaning and restoring world order. In the

³⁷ Balty 1991, 208-212.

³⁸ Gabriel 1952, 26-27. Herrmann 1904-1950 refers to Franz Winter's opinion that the works should belong to the Second Style. As to attributions to named painters like Gabriel's one can look at the attempt by L.J. Richardson, *A Catalog of Identifiable Figure Painters of Ancient Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae*, Baltimore and London 2000, 89-90, 171-175. But

see the proceedings of the round table cited p. 26, note 77.

³⁹ Allroggen-Bedel 1974, 108-109; Allroggen-Bedel 1983, 153; Najbjerg 1997, 297-298, 303-306 (Flavian statues added: pp. 216-221). Now also Corolini 2005, 352.

⁴⁰ Herrmann 1904-1950, 103; Little 1972, 37; Dulière 1979, I, 127-128, 129-132, II, 52-53 no. 135, figs. 78, 90; Gury 1991.

Roman empire this function was fulfilled by the emperor and, as a consequence, the display of heroes in the building reflects the wish to show the emperor as a hero.⁴¹ These beautiful sentences, unfortunately, are more suggestions than conclusions based on a sound foundation.

Little observed an interesting connection, not referred to in other studies until Torelli: the focus on the presence of children could suggest a relationship with Domitian as the *princeps Iuuentutis*.⁴² The caution observed as to Pappalardo's views on the *Aedes Augustalium* (*supra* p. 123) also applies to this suggestion.

As to the paintings of Hercules finding Telephos and the victorious Theseus slaying the Minotaur, there are some detailed studies which single out these peculiar scenes. Because of their dimensions, being the largest mythological scenes hitherto unearthed in Herculaneum, and their original position, they were of great importance in the building's iconographic repertoire. Based on previous studies but adding many new insights, Jan Willem Salomonson came to the conclusion fifty years ago that the image of Telephos symbolised the promise of bounty from the emperor. Telephos and his entourage stood for peace, happiness and wealth caused by Herculaneum's founder Herakles; the tranquil lion and the eagle connected the episode with the gods, especially Jupiter, and with peace. The Telephos theme was also present elsewhere in the building, namely in the form of a marble relief with Achilles consulting an oracle on how to cure the wounded Telephos.⁴³ Theseus stood for the liberation from evil. All these functions were substantiated in the person of the emperor, i.e. Vespasian.⁴⁴ Allroggen-Bedel took up this analysis and cautiously suggested a connection with the most famous Herculanean citizen, Marcus Nonius Balbus, who was proconsul of Crete between 20 and 14 BC, for which reason Theseus played a rôle in this official context.⁴⁵ Bernhard Schmaltz pointed to the specific victorious character of Theseus, being greeted by the children in a style which has comparisons with imperial representations of power rather than the (sometimes presumed) lost Greek original.⁴⁶ Almost no one has observed the presence of the woman in the top left corner who sports a quiver and probably has an arrow in her right hand. Might she be a personification of Crete, an island so famous for its archers? If so, she stresses the island's importance even if she does not have a specific position in the story.⁴⁷ In this way, she can be considered as the counterpart of the Arkadia in the Telephos painting, which underlines the adjective character of both images.

Najbjerg associates the four scenes with the *Saepta Iulia* in Rome and its two lateral porticoes (*Porticus Meleagri* and *Porticus Argonautorum*) where paintings with the same themes were visible:⁴⁸

a conscious quotation of the Saepta, one of the most frequented buildings in Rome was made in the 'Basilica', not only in the architecture and in the two large paintings of Achilles and Marsyas, but also in the topic of the frieze.

⁴¹ Schefold 1952, 141-142: "Das Heldenthema, das wir schon immer mit dem Frevlerthema verbunden sahen, ist in der festlichen Basilika ganz in den Vordergrund getreten als Ausdruck einer neuen ideellen Ordnung, die wieder auf augusteische Ideen zurückgreift und an Horaz erinnert. An die Stelle des neronischen Rausches ist das Pathos der Virtus und der göttlichen Weltordnung getreten, deren Hüter auf Erden die Heroen und der Kaiser sind. So wird auch in den Häusern vespasianischer Zeit das Heldenthema immer verbunden mit einer neuen Form des Preises der göttlichen Mächte, die über Held und Frevler walten."

⁴² Little 1964, 395; 1972, 38.

⁴³ Mühlenbrock and Richter 2005, 290 cat. no. 6.6.

⁴⁴ Salomonson 1957, 34-38. He remarks how the seated woman seen as Arcadia is even more important thanks to her dimensions. Salomonson's study is substantiated by Binder

1964, not often referred to in this context. Binder's analysis of our painting, however, is not flawless and he makes no allusion to the original position and function of the image (p. 131). In similar vein Little 1964, 393-395.

⁴⁵ Allroggen-Bedel 1983, 151-153. Pappalardo 1997, 422 reports the erection of a bronze equestrian statue, now lost (with bibliography).

⁴⁶ Schmaltz 1989, 78-79. See also Hallett 2005, 48, pl. 27: the attitude is that of a Hellenistic ruler in 'agonal nudity' (p. 57).

⁴⁷ Cf. M. Andreadakis-Vlasakis, *LIMC* VI (1992) 134 no. 14 s.v. Krete, who points to a possible confusion with Diktynna, a goddess who looks like Artemis (C. Boulotis, *LIMC* III, 1986, 391-394 s.v.).

⁴⁸ Najbjerg 1997, 306-315; citation on p. 308.

If we accept Najbjerg's dating to the time of Claudius, and bearing in mind that he supported the notion of a good education, the following themes can be identified: the education of children (Telephos, children of Athens, Olympos and Achilles, the latter being possible counterparts of Britannicus and Nero), cult (cult ministers), and Herakles (six times) as a specific Herculean item. Despite these common aspects, Najbjerg does not see a "coherent program" and the suggestion of a *pinacotheca* cannot be excluded.⁴⁹ Françoise Gury also studied these images and arrived at fascinating conclusions, arguing that the building was used for the imperial cult.⁵⁰ She identifies the colossal lady at the left hand side of the Telephos painting as Cybele, pointing to a similarity of the position and drapery with the Cybele statue from the Temple of Cybele on the Palatine in Rome. Other, more usual features of this Magna Mater are lacking.⁵¹ But she goes further, suggesting that the finding of Telephos is 'transplanted' to the Palatine and seen as a pre-Romulean foundation of the town, known as the Pallanteum. Moreover, Gury refers to the restoration of the Temple of Magna Mater in Herculaneum by Vespasian and Titus, as we know from an AD 76 inscription. The observation that the scene equals the finding of Romulus and Remus is based on Salomonson's work and lends support to this interpretation.⁵² The Theseus, finally, is also linked to Vespasian, who was previously quaestor on Crete and in Cyrenaica in AD 36/37, the same area where Nonius had worked. In conclusion, Nonius and Vespasian form a couple of principal benefactors.⁵³ The paintings, therefore, should be dated to 76-79.⁵⁴ Although one might point to the rather complicated message of seeing the two main euergetists in these figures – Theseus = Balbus and Hercules = Vespasian – it is not implausible. The restoration of the Temple of Cybele in Herculaneum was carried out in the same years. Nevertheless, the major focus on Balbus seems not justified, since he and his family were honoured in the nearby *Basilica Noniana* (see *infra*), for which reason Gury's conclusions must be treated with caution.⁵⁵

The topographical and functional relationship with the *Aedes Augustalium* has been discussed by Najbjerg. She labels the *Augusteum* as the 'Portico of the Augustales', with or without the *Iuuentus* – and the author has some strong arguments for her case. A discrepancy signalled by her in passing must be revealed.⁵⁶ She observes that the paintings in the 'Portico' highlight Herakles as the founder of the city, while the marble statues are dedicated to the dynasts, which could pertain to a conscious or unconscious choice of the materials used: marble for the portraits, painting (with or without a marble incrustation in the lower parts of the walls) for Herakles. The same distinction can be established in the *Aedes Augustalium*, where the head of the emperor (Vespasian or Titus) was either removed from the base at the back wall before AD 79 or never installed. One should keep in

⁴⁹ Najbjerg 1997, 315. Cf. Hölscher 1971, 45-46 (see note 285).

⁵⁰ Gury 1991, 97.

⁵¹ Gury 1991, 98-99.

⁵² Gury 1991, 100; cf. Salomonson 1957; Dulière 1979, I, 131.

⁵³ Gury 1991, 102-103; citation p. 103: "*nous croyons que le décor peint des deux absides met en parallèle les deux principaux bienfaiteurs d'Herculanum: Marcus Nonius Balbus, le constructeur, et Vespasian, le réconstructeur.*" See also Little 1964, 394. This view has nothing to do with the supposed interpretation of Theseus as a metaphor of a Roman conqueror of the Italic gentes, as apparently could be true for the Theseus mosaic in the House of the Labyrinth in Pompeii and those also dating to 70s BC in other houses (Strocka 1991, 107; V.M. Strocka, in *PPM* 5 (1994) 1-2) or as a symbol of maritime domination (Pesando and Guido-

baldi 2006b, 92-94).

⁵⁴ Approved by François Queyrel in his study about the Altar of Pergamon, when discussing the panel of Hercules finding Telephos: Queyrel 2005, 85, figs. 78 (Pergamon) and 79 (our painting). I do not want to address the possible relationship with a lost three dimensional group from Pergamon and its implications, which seems to me too far-fetched (cf. Dulière 1979, I, 127, 131-132).

⁵⁵ A. Allroggen-Bedel in Ercolano 2008, 43 dismisses Gury's reading as unfounded.

⁵⁶ Najbjerg 1997; Najbjerg 2002, 162: "*With its painted program that promoted Hercules, the patron god of Herculaneum, and its sculptural programs that hailed the emperor, the Porticus would have been a venue for the Augustales to display their wealth and show their loyalty to the town and to the emperor...*" Connection with the *Iuuentus* also in Coralini 2005, 352.

mind, however, that the applied marbles had gradually become common in the course of the first century and might thus not represent a specific feature. Despite the clumsy connection between the two buildings – precise axes are missing and other correspondences are lacking – the cella of the *Aedes Augustalium* follows more or less the axis of the rear wall of the portico (the two *quadrigae* within the entrance would guide the gaze of the spectators) and the painted *Herakles* cycles are in opposite positions. We are as yet unable to attribute the paintings in both complexes to the same painters and the data necessary to do so might eventually be found in the not yet excavated wall systems in the portico. These would show the framing of the removed central mythological scenes. The paintings in both buildings have a syntax of forms usual for the Fourth Style and while their architectural elements are rather heavy, a Flavian date is rather plausible.⁵⁷ The images show a mythological person who is extremely important for the history of Herculaneum, being its founder, and can be characterised as ‘sacred’ in this environment. As such, the pictorial decoration would not have been out of place in a private setting.

Fabrizio Pesando, finally, relies upon the motif of the *paideia*, symbolised in the couples Cheiron and Achilles and Marsyas and Olympos, and reaches the same conclusion as Najbjerg that the *Augusteum* should be compared with the *Saepta Iulia* in Rome, where these figures stood exposed as statues, and be seen as a conscious imitation of the complex in the capital of the Empire. He follows some scholars in interpreting the whole set of images as expressions of the liberation of Rome from the tyranny of Nero by Vespasian. The building, then, was an *Augusteum*.⁵⁸

We have already mentioned Torelli’s equation of the building with gymnasia because of architectural similarities, who argues that this is demonstrated by the four mythological scenes in the apses (fig. 61).⁵⁹ Torelli sees them as metaphors for the phases of education, *institutio*, coined after the more subtle Greek subdivision into four stages, which can be presented in the following scheme:

Painting	Greek	Roman
Telephos	Νήπιοι	Infantes
Theseus	Παῖδες	Pueri
Marsyas & Olympos	Ἐφεβοί	Adolescentes
Cheiron & Achilles	Μειράκια	Iuvenes

The heroes also represent the ideal of the gymnasium and warrant the success of education there. Torelli concludes that the building, despite its iconography, is not transformed into a gymnasium but remains a high-level *Augusteum*.

⁵⁷ Najbjerg 2002, 147 dates the preserved structure as well as the decoration of the portico to the Flavian era. Cf. *supra* her connection with Claudius; I concur with this most recent conclusion.

⁵⁸ Pesando 2003. See also Mühlenbrock 2003, 132. The connection with the *Saepta Iulia* at Rome has also been made by Salomonson 1957, Allroggen-Bedel 1983, 153, and others. These authors rely on the testimony of Pliny, *NH* 36.29, where groups of Cheiron and Achilles and Pan and Olympos are mentioned. The latter should be seen, according to many scholars, as Marsyas and Oympos, but two very different, even contrasting aspects of education might be alluded to,

see Anne Weis, *LIMC* VII (1994) 40 no. 15 and 44, commentary. Peter Weiss, *LIMC* VIII (1997) 931, Chapter IV.A refers to Pan & Olympos without any comment on the *Saepta Iulia*. As we see many references to Ovid’s version of myth, Weis’ reference to his *Pont.* 3.3.42-343, where both pairs are mentioned together, is relevant.

⁵⁹ Torelli 2005, 117-139. He is apparently not well informed when saying that the paintings have been rather neglected in scholarship, which is contradicted by my summary of the diverse opinions. The comparison with the *Saepta Iulia* in Rome (see text and previous note) is too far-fetched according to Torelli (pp. 128-130).

The theme of the *paideia* is even present in some of the other pictures, e.g. Herakles strangling the snakes and Medea contemplating her children (figs. 62-63). These serve as warnings about *hybris* and insane behaviour, both being a negative example of *tutela iuuenum*. One might also expect to find a Niobe panel! In this context the *iuuentus* is, again, an interesting aspect for which reason one might perhaps expect, in a mythical form, Vespasian's second son Domitian.

In conclusion, the building's function is similar to that of the *Aedes Augustalium* and we see here a higher grade of social class. The *ordo* built this *Augusteum*, probably more or less at the same time as the *aedes Augustalium* was built, and it gradually grew more prestigious. The decorations must be attributed to the same short lapse of time during the reign of Vespasian or Titus, most probably 76-79. The presence of two *augustea* is not problematic since different groups of Herculaneum's class-conscious society wanted to show their devotion (or would-be devotion) to the emperors.

There is a third building that must be taken into account, namely the one opposite *cardo III*, of which the outer wall is visible and sometimes labelled 'Galleria Balbi' thanks to the five portraits of members of the *gens Nonia* found there in the eighteenth century. It has also been called *Basilica Noniana*.⁶⁰ Mario Pagano published a group of paintings representing some thirteen of Hercules' aggressive encounters, belonging to the *praxeis* and *parerga* and not to his *athloi*, among which Alkyoneus (i.e. Gigantomachy), Pholos (i.e. Centauromachy), Sarpedon (i.e. killing the son of Poseidon at Ainos) and Kyknos (i.e. killing this hero at Itonos) are known, partly in figural form partly thanks to plaster fragments bearing the Greek painted names.⁶¹ The frieze adorned the epistyle of the lower colonnade which ran along the inner side of the exterior walls.⁶² Because of the rather peculiar stories of Hercules, Pagano suggests that this choice is based on literary works. The production of the paintings is dated to the age of Vespasian. As to the building's function it has been interpreted as the seat of the *Augustales*, but according to Allroggen-Bedel, Stefania Adamo Muscettola and Pagano it might be the *Basilica* proper, an interpretation also supported by Torelli.⁶³

In sum, all three buildings along the *decumanus maximus* express in one way or the other aspects of the emperor's cult. It should be noted that Augustus devoted plenty of attention to the province of Campania, unlike his successors.⁶⁴ Furthermore, in this area Vespasian and Titus, who almost always appear together, implemented a reform of the agrarian infrastructure. At the same time, the harbours in the bay of Naples also gained increasing importance, as evidenced by the construction of the *Via Domitiana*.⁶⁵ The local burghers profited

⁶⁰ VII 16. Allroggen-Bedel 1974; 1983; De Vos and De Vos 1982, 298-300; Adamo Muscettola 1982, 5, figs. 29-30; Boschung 2002, 121, 124; Torelli 2005, 112-117; Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006a, 373-375 ('Basilica Noniana', with a list of the portraits); A. Allroggen-Bedel in *Ercolano* 2008, 36-52, 261-262. Cf. the following notes. A beautiful female head with traces of polychromy has come to light during recent clearing works. See Guidobaldi 2006a, 108, figs. 4-5; Guidobaldi 2006b, 139, figs. 5-7.

⁶¹ Pagano 1990; 1996, 235; 2001. See also Coralini 2001, 30 and 2005, 341, 352. On Greek texts on paintings see Thomas 1995.

⁶² Pagano 1990, 154, fig. 1 (reconstruction) and pls. 43.1, 42.1; Pagano 2001; Coralini 2005, 341, figs. 2-4.

⁶³ Allroggen-Bedel 1974 and 1983; Adamo Muscettola 1982; Pagano 1996, 238-240 (his *Basilica*), 240-243 (his *Augusteum*);

Pagano 2001, 913 ('certainly' a *Basilica*); Coralini 2005, 352; Torelli 2005, 116. The *Aedes Augustalium* is not taken into account by Pagano. Pagano 2000, 92 gives the same interpretation; the *Aedes Augustalium* might be the seat of the *Augustales*. Pagano 2001, 920-923, figs. 6-7, and Coralini 2005, 348-349, 351-353, figs. 7-8 discuss the three representations of Herakles in a room (Pagano: "bottega") in the House of the Tuscan Colonnade, opening onto the *Decumanus Maximus* (VI 17). This might be part of the general Heraklean iconographic repertoire in Herculaneum. The representations are dated to the late Third Style and thus predate the examples discussed here, which date to the time of Vespasian and Titus.

⁶⁴ D'Arms 1970, 79-84.

⁶⁵ D'Arms 1970, 100-103.



Fig. 64 Pompeii, shrine in the eastern part of the Macellum (photo author).

from this development and showed their gratitude by means of the construction of imperial shrines, an activity which also enhanced their social status.⁶⁶

THE MACELLUM IN POMPEII

The eastern part of the commercial hall, the Macellum, in Pompeii has a tripartite subdivision in which the centre is occupied by a small temple on a podium and the side rooms are open areas for the sacrifice of animals or banqueting rituals (fig. 64). The left space also contains a small shrine (k). The vestibule of the central cult room (g) possessed panel decoration in the Fourth Style and candelabra separating these panels. Only faded stucco panels survive⁶⁷ and we must rely on rather sketchy early nineteenth-century documentation by François Mazois and William Gell.⁶⁸ According to these sources, the best preserved dado contained seated human figures

⁶⁶ Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2004, 121-126. See also Torelli 2005, 125. F. Pesando offers a good overview of the expressions of veneration of Vespasian and Titus in the towns of Campania in Coarelli 2009, 378-385. For Pompeii see Van Andringa 2009, 70, where he lists five shrines for the emperor's cult.

⁶⁷ VII 9, 7. De Vos and De Vos 1982, 43-45; De Ruyt 1983, 137-149, esp. 144-146; *PPM* VII (1997) 349; Coarelli 2002, 106; F. Marcattili, *ThesCRA* IV (2005) 271 no. 1. s.v. Macellum; Van Andringa 2006; Romizzi 2006a, 64-70; 2006b, 119-130; Stefani 2006; Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006a, 46-47; Barnabei 2007, 76-79; Van Andringa 2009, 197-214. An extensive discussion can be found in Wallat 1997, 169-

171, 244-245, figs. 278-279; Small 1996 (scanty documentation, p. 118; dating probably before 62, contra Maiuri et al., with restorations after 62, p. 122); Romizzi 2006a and 2006b and Stefani 2006 (Flavian era).

⁶⁸ Mazois 1829, 64-65, pl. 42, 44, 45; Gell 1832, I, 65, pl. XVIII; Van Andringa 2009, 202, fig. 15. The left and right walls seem to contain a central panel in red and side panel in yellow with architectural motifs. The antae have fluted pilasters in white stucco relief. A watercolour by the French architect Jules Bouchet from 1826 shows more elements than we can see nowadays and are also depicted in other illustrations (*Pompei* 1981, 146, 160 no. 32).

that cannot be gods because of their secondary position.⁶⁹ The floors, stairs and the walls of the cella were all covered with marble revetments. Those on the floors are still visible, the other slabs were removed either in antiquity or by the French excavators, a common practice at the time. Each of the four niches in the side walls contained statues, two of which have been found; plaster casts are on view *in situ*. These two statues - a man represented in heroic nudity and a woman in official dress offering a libation - both have hairstyles which are Neronian in fashion. The interpretation of the standing persons is hotly debated.⁷⁰ They have been identified as either portraits of members of the imperial family or Pompeian elite. The niche in the back wall contained the seated figure of an emperor. The fragment of an arm found here (now apparently lost) held a globe and certainly belongs to this figure venerated here. As a whole the decoration of this shrine, mainly based on marble veneer, does not differ from the contemporaneous display of luxury in imperial Pompeii during the first century AD. A Flavian date, as proposed by most scholars, is highly probable and is based on both the paintings and the use of the marble revetments (cf. p. 125 on Herculaneum). The iconography of the paintings and the sculptures might have enhanced the religious aura of the building.⁷¹

Most publications, including early ones, see this building as a shrine for the emperor's cult. However, while Gradel initially interpreted this as a shrine, he later questioned his own interpretation on the basis of the mix of local and imperial figures.⁷² What could be the function of a 'sculpture gallery' in a commercial setting? From Claire de Ruyt's monograph on market buildings we learn that imperial cults were practiced in various complexes which served as market places.⁷³ This may be an additional argument to accept the traditional interpretation as a room for the imperial cult, but as in the case of the *Aedes Augustalium* in Herculaneum we might characterize it as a sort of cult-specific *lararium* in which, or in front of which, offerings could be made on a portable altar.⁷⁴

The small shrine in the northern open room no longer shows traces of paintings, whereas the walls of the surrounding space have black dadoes with ornaments and panel decorations on a white background in the main zone.⁷⁵ It was probably dedicated to the cult of the *Genius Macelli*, but Willem van Andringa follows Torelli in attributing this shrine to Mercury, to whom the goats, skeletal remains of which have been found here, were dedicated. The combination of the Emperor cult and that for the god of commerce would have occurred in the last decades of Pompeii's existence. Inscriptions date many *Augustales* to this period.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ For this motif, compare the numerous crouching, kneeling and standing figures in dadoes in Fourth Style paintings from the House of Meleager (Moormann 1988, 174-176 cat. 202, with ill.; PPM IV (1993) 727-809) and the centaurs in the atrium of the Villa of San Marco in Castellammare di Stabia (Moormann 1988, 94 cat. 009/1, with ill.).

⁷⁰ See the overview of opinions in Stefani 2006, 205-223 and compare her own conclusions (members of the Flavian imperial family) with those of Lucia Romizzi 2006b in the same volume of *Ostraka* (emperor and members of the gens Nigidia) and of Armando Cristilli (2008: imperial persons). The statue of the youth is also listed in Hallett 2005, 324 no 204. As to the lady, G. Stefani in Coarelli 2009, 488-489, sees her as Flavia Iulia, daughter of Titus. Van Andringa 2009, 204, sees them as portraits of local people.

⁷¹ See esp. Romizzi 2006b, 122-124, who includes the images of the portico. She sees a clear connection with the icono-

graphic repertoire from the House of the Dioscuri and connects them with the Nigidii.

⁷² Gradel 2002, 107. He misinterprets Zanker 1995, 94 and fig. 38: Zanker does not deny the function as a shrine for emperor's cult (see the caption to his fig. 38), but he stresses the importance of the local elite. As to the shrine, Small 1996 and Van Andringa 2006 both view the absence of an altar as a point of contention.

⁷³ De Ruyt 1983, 374-375. See also Romizzi 2006b, 121 note 64.

⁷⁴ This assumption has been extensively debated in Van Andringa 2006, 193-199 and Stefani 2006.

⁷⁵ Van Andringa 2006, 191-192, figs. 6-7. Cf. Mazois 1829, plate 44 (reproduced in Van Andringa 2006, fig. 4).

⁷⁶ Torelli 1998, 262-263; Van Andringa 2006, 193-199; cf. Romizzi 2006a and 2006b.

As in Herculaneum, several buildings were erected along the eastern side of the forum to celebrate the emperors.⁷⁷ While not as wealthy as other groups, they built a sanctuary in a prominent location. The four marble statues and marble revetments enhanced its prestige. The most modest one is the shrine in the Macellum, for which we may presume the merchants were the patrons. As in Herculaneum, different social groups displayed their wealth and status and devotion to the emperor via the many cult buildings and their decoration, including statuary.

IMPERIAL CULT IN MISENUM

The effects of the bradysism at Pozzuoli and surroundings in 1970s led to the discovery of various important buildings in this area which was densely inhabited in the imperial era and known as an area of *villeggiatura*. One of the main showpieces in the local museum in the Castello di Bacoli is the reconstruction of the front of the Temple of the Augustales in Misenum, where two nude marble portrait statues of Vespasian and Titus in heroic poses were found. Still more spectacular is the bronze equestrian statue of Domitian transformed into a Nerva after Domitian's *damnatio memoriae*.⁷⁸ Some painted decorations are also known. The three cellae must have had a mixed decoration of marble slabs and murals, destroyed around AD 200, and the floor was embellished with a mosaic in *opus sectile*. Little is known about these paintings. The small monograph by the excavator of the complex, Alfonso de Franciscis, provides little information. The published scant remains suggest the presence of a panel decoration in red and green on a white background with figural vignettes in the middle, all above a dado in marble veneer. Room 1 had white walls subdivided into isodomic blocks.⁷⁹ The apse in the back wall of the cella proper, Room 2, housed stucco elements like the shell motif in the calotte and Nereids, fish and other marine motifs in a frieze running below that. Its two lateral niches contained the portraits of the Flavian emperors. The greater part of the walls and the floor were in marble, the latter in the shape of a mosaic in *opus sectile*. Carmela Capaldi dates the pieces to the Fourth Style and suggests a more precise date of production around AD 80.⁸⁰ Room 3, which served for the organisation of sacral meals, *epula*, by members of the *collegium*, has no remaining decoration.⁸¹

The specific reasons for the erection of the complex are not known, but one might think of the completion of the *Via Domitiana* in AD 95, which created a much better route from the harbours of Puteoli and its surroundings to Rome.⁸² The importance of Campania for the Flavians could already be attested in Herculaneum (see *supra* p. 136).

The few fragments illustrated hitherto in publications do not give a lavish impression and contain roughly painted foliate motifs, belonging to garlands, and modest cornices in stucco. As a whole, no specific stylistic characteristics enable dating. It is likely they are a later product, possibly dating to the time when the building's

⁷⁷ For a quick overview see Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006a, 47-49: VII 9, 1 (also seen as a library) and VII 9, 2 (sanctuary of the imperial cult), with bibliography on pp. 457-458.

⁷⁸ Adamo Muscettola 2000; Fejfer 2008, 79-82, figs. 36-38, pls. 6-7; Coarelli 2009, 476-478. See also Hallett 2005, 179-180, pls. 102-104, fig. 10.

⁷⁹ De Franciscis 1991, 31 speaks about "specchiature a leggero rilievo", but the photographs (figs. 21-23) do not show such a First Style-like relief. Fig. 3 has traces of axe marks, which means that the paintings had to be replaced by new ones. The fragments might date to the first, Domitianic phase and the traces of destruction possibly date to restoration in the second century. Ostrow 1985, 75-76, Etienne 1993, 347-348

and Gradel 2002, 229 briefly mention the complex. Listed in *ThesCRA* IV (2005) 194 no. 7 s.v. Augusteum. See also P. Miniero in Zevi 2008, III, 185-189 and the presentation of all finds but the paintings (Zevi 2008, III, 190-209).

⁸⁰ C. Capaldi in Miniero 2000, 23-28. See also Mielsch 1975, 76; de Franciscis 1991, 37, figs. 30-38, 46.

⁸¹ De Franciscis 1991, 45.

⁸² D'Arms 1970, 101-102. The idea of an *augusteum* can even refer to the activities of the first princeps in this area (D'Arms 1970, 80-81) and in that case the early date can be accepted. Cf. Ostrow 1985, 85-98 for the great interest for the emperor's cult in Campania.

marble façade was dedicated by Cassia Victoria, whose portrait and that of her husband Lucius Lecanius Primitivus are clearly Antonine in fashion and style.⁸³

A small shrine in Pozzuoli consisting of two small rooms has been connected with the Flavian cult in Misenum.⁸⁴ An anteroom in the vast hypogeum recently discovered in Pozzuoli has white frescoes adorned with roses in a *Streumuster* pattern. The main room in the area on the acropolis of ancient Puteoli contains a traditional *lararium* with lares flanked by laurel trees on the north wall, opposite the entrance. On the east and west walls two groups of six gods can be distinguished. Together they form the twelve Olympian gods in their specific function of *Dei consentes*. The south wall has a monochrome depiction of Herakles. This figure might not be contemporary with the gods. The modest complex expresses the veneration of the Flavian emperors by groups of corn merchants working in the port of Puteoli, where they had their *collegium*. Salvatore de Vincenzo argues that the roses in the anteroom refer to the feast of the *Rosalia*. I doubt this assumption, since they are not a very specific type of decoration (and are also found in Misenum) and the *Rosalia* do not have a specific connection with this kind of trade. The find in Pozzuoli, however, makes clear that similar surprises may be expected. The *sacellum* is a good example of the various ways, modest and opulent, of venerating the emperor and his tutelary deities.

SILVANUS AND CARACALLA IN OSTIA?

Apart from Mithraea and the instance of the ‘quattro tempietti’ (see Chapter 3, p. 60), very few cult buildings in Ostia still contain traces of the original interior decoration of the cella, whereas no outer walls show remains of mural paintings.⁸⁵ Here, in the imperial era, marble had become the ordinary material used for the wall decorations in public and religious buildings. As in Rome, the consumption of expensive materials generated plenty of income.⁸⁶

The privately funded *Sacellum* of Silvanus is incorporated into a big bakery complex, the Caseggiato dei mulini (I iii 1). It consists of a former passageway between two buildings, roofed and closed off at one side. The walls are clad with stucco and two layers of paintings, which unfortunately have faded considerably (figs. 65-69).⁸⁷ The lower layer contains an extremely simple panel painting in red bands on a white surface. Yellow lines and green horizontal bands similar to those in the Mithraeum of the Painted Walls (see p. 169-170, fig. 93) form horizontal subdivisions. The second layer, executed in very thin paint directly on the existing murals of the long walls, shows large, monochrome red figures, standing in rows on the long walls and in some cases repainted at a later point in time (figs. 65-67). The still visible figures on both the east and west walls are difficult to read, precisely because of the wear of the paintings as a whole. The left and right walls, next to the entrances, have depictions of the Dioscuri and their horses. At the rear of the room, several deities and historical personages can be recognised on the left eastern wall (fig. 67): Augustus (or a later emperor), Harpocrates, Isis (repainted as a genius), Fortuna (with rudder and *cornucopiae*), Annona (with rod and corn), Genius (with *cornucopiae* and halo) and a nude Alexander the Great with a halo. Isis, Fortuna and Annona can be connected with the guild of the bakers, as has been made clear by Bakker.⁸⁸ Harpocrates, who joins the party as a small boy, merits his posi-

⁸³ See Stefania Adamo Muscettola in Miniero 2000, 38-42 and, more extensively, Adamo Muscettola 2000 on the statuary.

⁸⁴ De Vincenzo 2008.

⁸⁵ See citation from Meiggs 1973, 437, p. 67 note 71.

⁸⁶ A fascinating work in this respect is Pensabene 2007.

⁸⁷ Bakker 1994, 134-167, pl. 85-100; Moormann 1994; *LIMC* VII (1994) 766 no. 46; Bollmann 1998, 434-436; J.Th. Bak-

ker, Les boulangeries à moulin et les distributions de blé gratuites, in *Ostie* 2001, 179-185, esp. 181-183, figs. 6-7; Steuernagel 2001, 43-48 and 2004, 106, 186-187, fig. 19; M. Menichetti, *ThesCRA* IV (2005) 315 no. 6, pl. 31, s.v. *Sacellum*.

⁸⁸ Bakker 1994, 134-167, pl. 85-100.



Fig. 65 Ostia, *Sacellum* of Silvanus, west wall (photo S.T.A.M. Mols). For a colour version of this figure, see page 249.

tion as the son and companion of Isis. The two princes are more problematic. Michel Fuchs argues they should also be interpreted as mythological figures and suggests they are Mars and Mercury.⁸⁹

The rear wall was completely repainted. In the centre of this south wall a figure can be seen, preserved up to its waist and not yet satisfactorily interpreted (fig. 68). It was accompanied by the marble statuette of a Lar standing in a niche and now in the Ostia Museum. Silvanus stood next to him on the western wall. This image was removed and transported to the same museum (fig. 69). The panel shows him holding a patera next to a pillar-like altar on which sits a snake. Silvanus' dog is seated on the ground.

The composition scheme of the long walls does not differ from other white walls in Ostia dating to the late second and early third century AD and studied by Claudia Liedtke.⁹⁰ The figural motifs were added briefly later. A graffito with the date of 25 April 215 gives a *terminus ante quem* and the text records a dedication to emperor Caracalla and thus the historical persons should be interpreted as illustrious predecessors. Caracalla had a special affection for Alexander. The Egyptian deities might allude to the bakers' connection with Egypt, from where the cereals were imported for the Roman market.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Personal communication (see Moormann 1994, 269 note 32). The caduceus and purse noted by M. Fuchs are not visible. Because of this I prefer the older interpretation.

⁹⁰ Liedtke 2002, 18-20. As to the chronological and stylistic development of paintings in Ostia see also Mols 2002 and Falzone 2004 and Mols' review of Liedtke in *BABesch* 80 (2005) 240-241. Silvanus: Mols 2002, 170.

⁹¹ A specific relationship between Egypt and Caracalla is not materially identifiable and might be a cliché. Caracalla's visit in 215-216 to the country could not be the immediate cause because he arrived there in autumn and we have the graffito of 25 April. Furthermore, all Roman emperors had a connection with Egypt.



Fig. 66 Ostia, *Sacellum* of Silvanus, west wall, donkey (courtesy Soprintendenza alle antichità di Ostia).

The decoration is subordinate to the precise selection of the iconographic theme. Instead of a display of intricate decorative schemes or a rich palette, the iconography enhances the prestige of the room.⁹² Bollmann's study proposes that the graffiti and the presence of the emperor make this a place for the emperor's cult. It is not clear how intensively Alexander and Augustus were still venerated in the late imperial era, but their dominant presence cannot be dismissed as occasional because it is rare and therefore specifically invented for this room.⁹³

Finally, I wish to discuss another building in Ostia dedicated to an emperor. The 'Tempio Collegiale' was a building dedicated to *diuus* Pertinax in 192-193. In the large cella small traces of paint can be seen in the niches.⁹⁴



Fig. 67 Ostia, *Sacellum* of Silvanus, east wall with gods and emperors (water colour, courtesy Soprintendenza alle antichità di Ostia).

⁹² See Liedtke 2002, 18-20.

⁹³ Cf. Moormann 1994, 266-268; Bollmann 1998, 436.

⁹⁴ V xi, 1. Pavolini 1983, 223, plan on p. 217; Pavolini 2006,

233, with plan on p. 217; Pensabene 2007, 353-357. The dedication was made by a *collegium fabrorum tignuariorum*.

Fig. 68 Ostia, *Sacellum* of Silvanus, south wall with Silvanus (photo S.T.A.M. Mols). For a colour version of this figure, see page 249.



Fig. 69 Ostia, *Sacellum* of Silvanus, west wall, Silvanus (courtesy Soprintendenza alle antichità di Ostia).

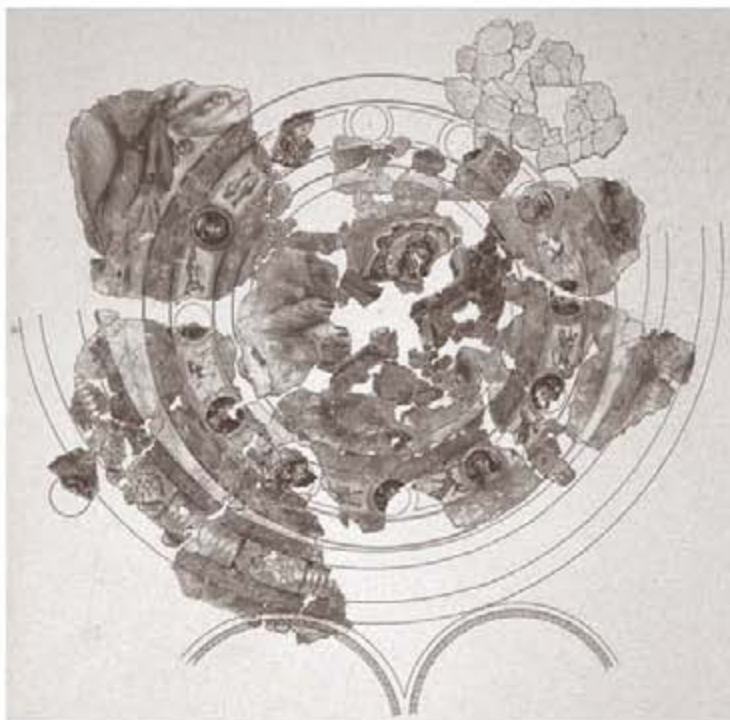


Fig. 70 Sabratha, apse of the west portico of the Temple of Hercules, apotheosis of Marcus Aurelius, AD 186 or later (from Caputo and Ghedini 1984, pl. 23,1).

The poorly-preserved remains are not particularly informative but we can deduce that there was no marble revetment, whereas the exterior was richly adorned with marble elements. The portico has a thicker lower layer over which a thinner whitewash can be observed. The niches in the left wall also contain small bits and pieces of plaster. Stephan Mols has suggested⁹⁵ that a garden painting like those published by Paola Baccini Leotardi⁹⁶ – who argues they are always found in bath complexes – might have been appropriate on these walls. The different strata of plaster could lend support to this assumption.

HERCULES AND MARCUS AURELIUS IN SABRATHA

A further example of imperial cult is the temple built by Commodus for Hercules and his father, Marcus Aurelius, in the Libyan city of Sabratha. The podium temple rose on a spacious square and was surrounded on the east and west sides by porticoes which had an apsidal room at their upper (i.e. southern) sides. Italian excavations conducted before the Second World War uncovered fragments of wall plaster covered with figural scenes from these niches. The walls of the niches, including the lower parts of the calottes, were clad with marble, while the rounded top elements had painted decorations.⁹⁷ In the western apse the representation of the dead emperor could be reconstructed: he was represented being carried to heaven, seated on the back of an eagle. He had a sceptre and a wreath and was about to be received in the union of the Olympian gods (fig. 70). The celestial blue roundel was framed by a band studded with the signs of the zodiac, alternating with heads of human figures in medallions. The latter could represent imitations of precious gems and cameos. At a certain point on the outer circumference, the excavators could join the fragment of a Tellus so that one may presume the presence of a

⁹⁵ Personal communication as a comment on this section.

⁹⁶ See Baccini Leotardi 1978.

⁹⁷ Caputo and Ghedini 1984, 36-12, pls. 8-9, 19-24, A-D (water colours and reconstructions of the fragments; the original

pieces apparently were lost during the Second World War).

Other cases of the emperor cult in North Africa are briefly discussed on pp. 52-53, Luxor (here pp. 146-147) is not mentioned. Briefly mentioned in Moormann 1994, 265.

Fig. 71 Sabratha, apse of the east portico of the Temple of Hercules, Dea Roma, AD 186 or later (from Caputo and Ghedini 1984, pl. 24,1).



group of similar allegorical persons on all other sides of this composition. The representation of the emperor on the back of Jupiter's eagle shows the same iconography we know from the relief showing the apotheosis of Sabina from the Arco di Portogallo on the Via Recta in Rome (now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori) and in the form of a winged genius, that of Antoninus Pius and Faustina, on the basis of their commemorative column in Rome (now in the Vatican Museums).

The decoration of the eastern apse cannot easily be reconstructed. The scant fragments show the figure of an armed, standing Dea Roma within an octagonal field (fig. 71). In AD 186 Commodus had the temple dedicated by a certain Messius Rufinus, with whom he could have shared responsibility for the decorative programme.⁹⁸ The emperor personally worshipped his father Marcus and saw his own policy as the best continuation of the government of his predecessor. Marcus continues to triumph after his death by taking his place among the gods and various famous deified predecessors here shown in medallions.

Barely no other decoration survives and it is thus impossible to reconstruct the whole repertoire. It seems obvious that the apse decorations stress the theme of Rome and its emperors. The reconstruction of the paintings makes clear that the iconography was specific with respect to the function of the sacred building, while the wall decoration followed the contemporary fashion of marble revetments.

THE SEVERI IN BULLA REGIA

Unfortunately, the French excavators of Bulla Regia are quite silent about the temples found along the two monumental esplanades in the centre of this town in *Africa Proconsularis*. The central cella of a temple complex in the second esplanade yielded mosaic floors, *opus sectile* decorations and paintings. An inscription confirms that Septimius Severus and his sons Geta and Caracalla were worshipped here. This means that this text pertains to the period before Septimius' death in AD 205. The nature of these paintings remains unknown.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Almost nothing is known about him (cf. W. Eck, *RE* Supplement 14, 1974, 281). Neither he nor the temple is discussed in Hekster's excellent book about Commodus of 2002. For Commodus' relationship with Hercules, see Hekster 2002,

117-129.

⁹⁹ Beschtaouch, Hanoune and Thébert 1977, 108-111, fig. 108 (mosaic). The cella of a temple next to the monumental esplanade contains remains of a mosaic (*ibid.* 107, fig. 103).



Fig. 72 Luxor, Temple of Amun, cult room, east wall, Tetrarchs' period, water colour by J.G. Wilkinson, around 1852-1856 (from Deckers 1979, figs. 13).

THE TETRARCHS IN LUXOR

In the year 295-296, under the government of Diocletian and his colleagues of the Tetrarchy, the old Temple of Amun in Luxor was changed into the headquarters of a military base. A part of the previous shrine now functioned as the cult room for the worship of the Tetrarchs. Little of its decoration is still *in situ*, but thanks to these remains and nineteenth-century watercolours, important details can be reconstructed (figs. 72-73). The northern, western and eastern walls contain processions of dignitaries and officials on a white background above a dado with fancy *opus sectile* motifs. The south wall blocks the previous entrance to the original Egyptian cult room and possesses an apse decorated with portraits of the emperor and his colleagues, and Jupiter's eagle in the calotte.¹⁰⁰ Large panels on its left and right showed figures in a procession beneath the images of two enthroned pairs of emperors in the upper part of the panels. The standing men in the apse can be regarded as substitutes for the cult statue (or statues), which were never erected. The identification of these persons, the reigning *Augusti* and *Caesares*, and the other four men on the wall around the apse, possibly princes who have resigned or were their successors, is a matter of debate. Frank Kolb gives the following options, in which the same persons re-appear in different functions:

- 1) Diocletian and Maximianus as ex-emperors, *seniores Augusti*, and their successors Constantius and Galerius as *Augusti* in the apse, flanked on the sides by the *Caesares* of the second tetrarchy, namely Constantius and Severus, and Maximinus Daia and Galerius around 305;
- 2) Diocletian and Maximianus and Galerius and Licinius as ex-emperors, *seniores Augusti* in the apse, flanked by Galerius and Maximinus Daia and Severus and Licinius or Constantine as *Augusti*. This would mean a later date, at least until 307, which is when Daia was murdered.

The state of preservation precludes precise identification. However, it is clear that the paintings were especially made for the room, stressing its new function as a shrine for the emperor cult. The composition of the long

¹⁰⁰ Deckers 1973; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1975; Deckers 1979; El-Saghir 1986, 27-31; Moormann 1994, 265-266; Kuhoff 2001, 628-632; Kolb 2001, 41, 175-186, figs. 16-22; E. La Rocca, in *Aurea Roma* 2001, 19; Lembke 2004, 81, figs. 145-146; McKenzie 2007, 170, 314, figs. 294, 297. Kolb

discusses all previous publications. Elsner 1995, 173-176, figs. 22-24 remarks that Kalavrezou-Maxeiner denied the cult function of the room, a suggestion not substantiated in her essay. See Adams 2004 on Diocletian and Egypt.

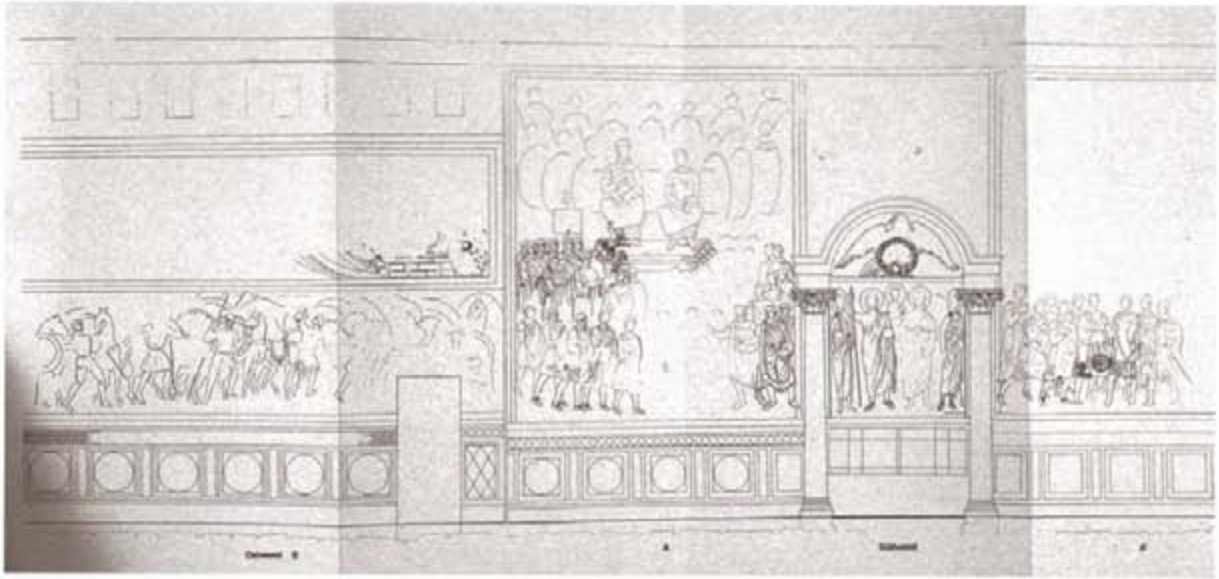


Fig. 73 Luxor, Temple of Amun, cult room, east and south walls, Tetrarchs' period, drawing of the paintings of 1977 (from Deckers 1979, figs. 34).

processions of people who bring presents precedes the early Christian iconography of offering ministers, for example those in the Church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. However, as Johannes Deckers has rightly observed, they also recall the depiction of series of worshippers in sacral rooms like the Mithraeum of S. Prisca in Rome (see Chapter 7) and the Temple for Bel and Zeus Theos in Dura Europos (see Chapter 8). Deckers, who has published two very helpful, excellent studies, argued that images of this kind were painted by specialised artists and are found across the whole empire. Unfortunately, there are no comparable contemporary (or earlier and later) decorations which can substantiate this hypothesis. Following Kolb it should be noted that these particular paintings contain details which pertain to a specific Egyptian context. They could possibly refer to an homage to the Tetrarchs in this military base, perhaps when one of them personally visited and received the inhabitants and the soldiers in a solemn audience rarely granted in this remote area.

Michel Reddé characterises the image as a theophany because of the eagle with the wreath above the emperors' heads and sees the scene as an expression of imperial majesty found in the *signa* of the legions, similar examples of which are found in niches in *fana* or *aedes* in other military camps. The ensemble can be compared to the Dura Europos painting in light of its composition of superposed rectangular panels and groups of persons standing within framed windows.¹⁰¹

CONCLUSIONS

The monuments for the emperor's cult discussed in this chapter display a rich array of figural scenes and motifs. It appears that we have a different category of cult buildings. A study of room functions shows they are not houses of the gods, here the *diui* and their family, but rather *lararia*, sometimes with the objects of veneration (e.g. Lares and Genii) depicted in the household shrines. There is a chronological development, as far as we can judge from the surviving remains, starting with mythological themes which likely allude to emperors. An example is Herculaneum's focus on its founder Herakles. Later, this theme reappears in painted images of princes. This scheme reaches its peak in the temple in Luxor, where the painted tetrarchs are substitutes for the real four dynasts and have become objects of veneration.

¹⁰¹ Reddé 2004, 457-458, figs. 19-20.

As a result, it can be established that the buildings in Ostia and Luxor received an entirely appropriate iconography, in that the paintings matched the function of the cult room. In the case of Herculaneum this repertoire is less evident and the unprepared visitor could guess that the murals belong to private dwellings, unless the architectural features betrayed the religious or public character of the building. In Ostia the architecture is entirely insignificant. The cult room is located in a recycled space and the identification of the new function is completely dependent on the painting. Even if we cannot know whether specialists worked in Luxor, it is clear that all elements have been arranged within a composition scheme that matches the iconography and that the imagery is unequivocal. The room could even have been used by the emperor for his audiences, albeit not for large groups of people. Indeed, a more likely interpretation is an emperor cult by military troops. In this view, the decorative scheme matches the room's function. The Temple of Hercules in Sabratha and that of the Severi in Bulla Regia could have been similar to that in Luxor, but for the moment any proposal remains purely speculative. The few painted fragments found at Misenum, finally, belong to ordinary schemes of the late Fourth Style and are in no way specific to the three cult rooms.

7 Roman Shrines Housing Non-Roman Cults

Several gods and goddesses possessed cults in which the worshippers had to be initiated and formed communities closed to people not religiously involved. This does not mean that all of them were strictly secret, as has often been argued, but that people had to be physically or psychologically separated from the rest of the community.¹ The sanctuaries of Isis and Mithras are relevant to this study because many shrines were decorated with paintings. While there are not many temples of Isis with painted decoration, her temple in Pompeii offers an excellent example which deserves a lengthy discussion. Mithras' artificial grottoes (*spelaea*) have been studied in many good contributions but also need to be discussed within the framework of this book. Concerning the cults of Demeter and Dionysos, I cannot identify any relevant building which contains paintings. The chapter will conclude with a short section on various other non-Roman shrines.

SHRINES FOR ISIS

In the Greco-Roman world Isis was venerated as a syncretic deity with Egyptian roots and Hellenistic Greek flavours.² Her shrines could be found everywhere in the ancient world and would have been the symbol of Egypt for many inhabitants. Unfortunately, the murals in her temple in Pompeii are the only well-known examples. Removed from the walls and now housed in the Naples Museum, they are well-preserved and appear to be representative of images from the Egyptian realm.³

THE TEMPLE OF ISIS IN POMPEII

It is obvious that the paintings in the Temple of Isis can be connected with Egypt, but that does not mean that a detailed analysis cannot bring new insights to the interpretation of the various elements.⁴ Whoever visits the

¹ Fundamental: Burkert 1987 (and translations as well as updates in Italian, 1989, German, 1990, and French, 2003); Fritz Graf, *Mysterien*, *DNP* 8 (2000) 615-626. See also Klauck 1995, I, 77-128.

² Wild 1981; Klauck 1995, I, 111-118; Takács 1995; *Iside* 1997; Versluys 2002; several contributions in Bricault, Versluys and Meyboom 2006.

³ Synopsis and evaluation of Isaea in Hoffmann 1993, 176-198. Cf. *Iside* 1997, which includes a comprehensive manual. See also Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 228 about the impossibility of making sound comparisons. The temples of Isis have been inventoried in Bricault 2001: no other temple with paintings. But see the Iseum in Mainz (*infra*). For Temple A in Herculaneum, see Chapter 3.

⁴ VIII 7, 28. Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 30-39, 135-146, 155-158, 176, 183; *Alla ricerca* 1992; Hoffmann 1993; Golvin 1994; contributions by J.-C. Grenier, F. Zevi, S. Adamo Muscettola and F. Coarelli, *PP* 274-275 (1994); *Iside* 1997, 338-343, 425-431; V. Sampaolo, *PPM* VIII (1998) 732-849; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 185-199; Blanc, Eristov and Fincker 2000, 227-309; Versluys 2002, 143-146, 259-260; Coarelli 2002, 92-100; Krzyszkowska 2002, 241-248; Poole 2004; De Caro 2006a and 2006b; Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006a, 68-72; Bianchi 2006; Barnabei 2007, 56-63; F. De Angelis in Coarelli 2009, 392-399; D'Alessio 2009, 67-78; Van Andringa 2009, 161-171, fig. 123-125; Wolf 2009, 291-298, figs 83-91. On the older phase De Caro 1991a, 38 and D'Alessio 2009, 67-78, on the latter see De Caro 1991b, 23-25. Now mostly

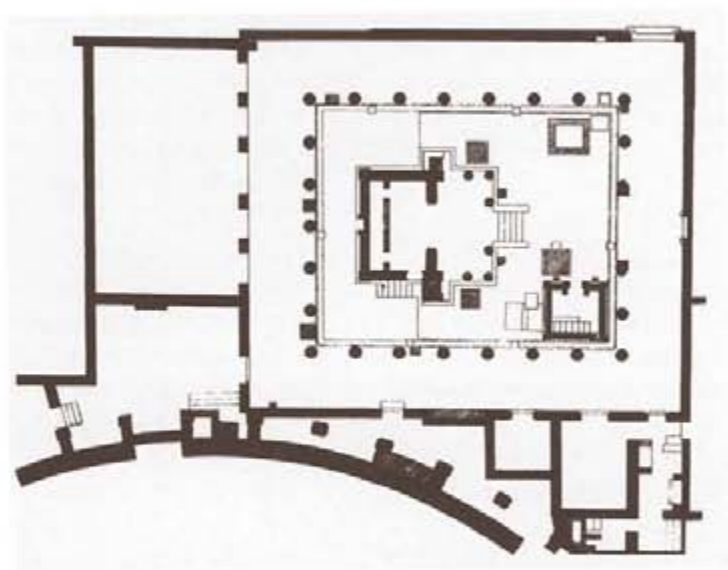


Fig. 74 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, plan (from Blanc, Eristov and Fincker 2000, fig. 1).



Fig. 75 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, backside of podium temple (photo author).

ruins nowadays (figs. 74-75) can scarcely imagine the great admiration and bewilderment when the complex was discovered in December 1764. It was gradually excavated until 1766 and thus widely known in travelogues and scientific reports.⁵ The extremely rich finds were immediately brought to the museum in the King's palace in Portici. The excavators quickly decided to remove the paintings from the walls as they were deteriorating rapidly and were in danger of being lost.⁶ In a way, this was a good decision because we can still admire the murals. Fur-

out of date Elia 1942. A slightly different version of this section on the Temple of Isis in Pompeii is found in E.M. Moormann, *The Temple of Isis at Pompeii*, in Bricault, Versluys and Meyboom 2006, 137-154. I was not able to consult M.R. Swetnam-Burland, *Egypt in the Roman Imagination: A Study of Aegyptiaca from Pompeii*, unpublished PhD University of Michigan 2002, but see her contribution in Bricault, Versluys and Meyboom 2006, 113-136.

⁵ Among the oldest mentions are Jérôme De Lalande, *Voyage*

en Italie, Paris 1769, vol. VII, letter XX, 545-559 (winter 1765-1766) and Johann Joachim Winckelmann's letter of 28 December 1765 to his friend Heyne: W. Rehm, ed., *J.J. Winckelmann, Briefe* 3, Berlin 1956, 143-147, esp. 144-146.

⁶ That must be why Gell and Gandy, who are so generous with their information in all other cases, do not dedicate much space to the Temple of Isis and illustrate only one image (Gell and Gandy 1852, 185, 192, pl. 69). More can be found in Mazois 1838, 24-33, pl. VII-XI.

Fig. 76 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, *Nilometer*, pilaster (photo N. Blanc).

thermore, the original documentation is excellent, thus making it possible to accurately reconstruct their original context.⁷

The temple itself (fig. 75), erected in Roman style on a podium, is stuccoed in the mode of the First Style, but these murals probably date to the post-62 period and can be seen as a restoration or as a reference to tradition. The outer walls of the cella imitate blocks rendered in stucco relief, whereas the front walls have stucco reliefs displaying architectural schemes of the Fourth Style.⁸ A horizontal scroll runs above the whole decoration. The inner walls show two tiers of fake marble plates which create a rich and solemn atmosphere. Figural motifs are almost completely absent.⁹ This repertoire reflects the austere and traditional look of marble temples, as we have seen in the cellae of the Temple of Jupiter and that of Apollo in Pompeii. The floors, partly in *opus sectile*, partly in *opus tessellatum*, are only known from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century illustrations. They probably date to the beginning of the first century AD, or in any case from before Popidius Celsinus' reconstruction of the building.¹⁰ The building's back wall has a niche at the exterior which contained a statue of Dionysos represented as Osiris. The niche's arch was adorned with the benevolent ears of Isis, who was willing to listen to the prayers of her worshippers.

The back wall of the exterior of the *Nilometer*, the place of conservation of the (real or symbolic) holy water from the Nile,¹¹ has a stucco imitation of blocks. The front side has stucco reliefs with garlands, similar to those on the portico, also containing Egyptian cult objects like the sistrum and the hydria (fig. 76). Panels flanking the door are adorned with Isis figures standing



⁷ See *Alla ricerca* 1992 and Pannuti 1992, but one should also consult the old descriptions in Helbig 1868, 2-5, with references to his catalogue entries, and Elia 1942.

⁸ See the good description in Mols 2005 (Temple of Isis: p. 244).

⁹ *PPM VIII* (1998) 785-797. Mistakenly, Gros 1996, 168, refers to information on Egyptian religion derived from the images present in the temple. Apparently, he alludes to those in the *ekklesiasterion* and the portico around the temple itself.

¹⁰ Blanck, Eristov and Fincker 2000, 281-287. Laidlaw 1985, 311-312 has a date around 100 BC. But see the dedicatory inscription in the *ekklesiasterion* (here p. 153).

¹¹ *PPM VIII* (1998) 798-811. Cf. Laidlaw 1985, 312. As to the interpretation of the small building there is a lot of discussion. Most authors see it as a *Purgatorium*. Wild 1981, 44-47, speaks of a "Nile water crypt", whereas Hoffmann 1993, 207-208 and Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 187 give good arguments for the interpretation as a *Nilometer*, agreeing with Wild: the room had no roof. The water stored in this precinct was 'Ersatznilwasser' (Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 332). See also Brenk 1999, 139 note 33; P. Gallo in *Iside* 1997, 294. Golvin 1994, 242 does not adhere to a specific interpretation. See about *Nilometers* Meyboom 1995, 51-53 and notes 61-66 on pp. 293-295; Hélène Girard in Bricault, Versluys and Meyboom 2006, 435.

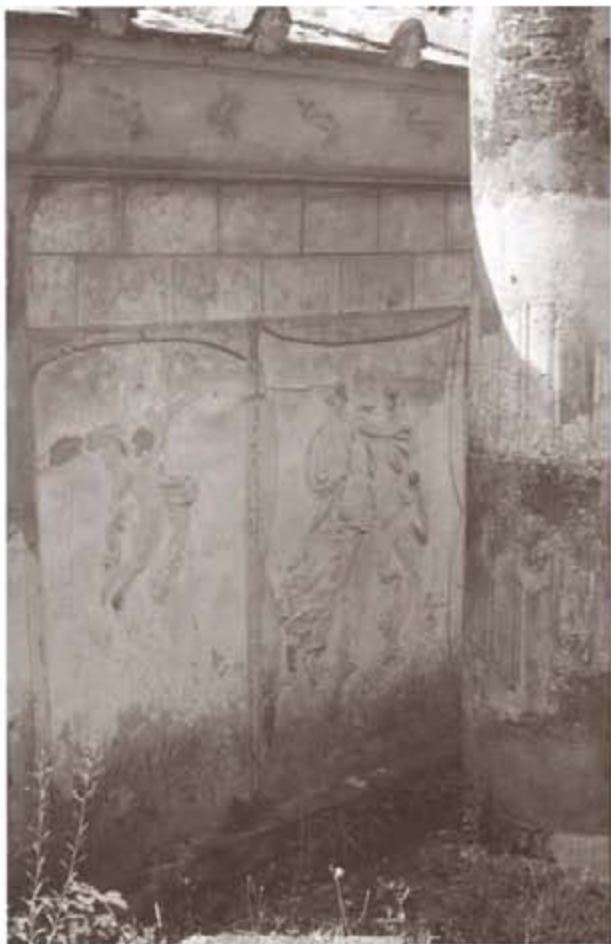


Fig. 77 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, *Nilometer*, Perseus and Andromeda and flying Eros (photo N. Blanc).

on tiny consoles. In the frieze over the entrance one can see cult ministers. The exterior side walls have panels framed in stucco relief with floating mythological couples (Perseus and Andromeda, Mars and Venus, fig. 77), the outer panels display Erotes. The inside, in contrast, is smooth and does not contain any decorations. As a whole, the building's decorative repertoire shows the combination of cult-specific motifs and themes taken from Greek mythology that, in my opinion, have nothing to do with Egypt.

The portico, which constitutes the precinct around the temple and the *Nilometer*, has a rich and multi-coloured paratactic panel decoration that contrasts with the white decoration in the shrine and the small precinct for the water from the Nile (figs. 78-79). The dado consists of oblong panels in yellow enlivened by sea monsters (*ketè*) and sphinxes heraldically flanking Medusa heads. Thin architectural elements, flanking large panels with fine garland ornamentation and vignettes, divide the main zone while a scroll on a black

background closes the central zone at the top, separating it from a white upper zone with slim *aediculae*. Small pictures enliven the architectural *capricci*: landscapes, still lifes with food and animals and at least eight sea battles. The panels contain vignettes, alternating landscapes and twelve standing cult ministers.¹² The big panel in front of the entrance of the temple, marked by a niche, contains the representation of a statue of Harpocrates (fig. 80). The corresponding, central intercolumniation on the east side of the portico is much wider than the other ones, which suggests that the niche, with its depiction of Harpocrates, communicates with the *συννάοι θεοί*, Isis and Osiris, in the cella of the temple. It is striking how precisely the cult objects carried by the priests are rendered (figs. 80-82).¹³

The *ekklesiasterion* at the west side of the portico (room 6) was used for solemn reunions and possibly also for religious banquets.¹⁴ The pilasters that support the arches of the entrances were adorned on the intra-

¹² PPM VIII (1998) 736-78. Brenk 1999, 139 compares the priests to the dignitaries depicted on the columns of Philae, whereas the granite columns from the Iseum Campense in Rome (now in the Musei Capitolini) are later depictions of the same Philae shrine.

¹³ Compare the candlesticks carried by the painted priests of fig. 80 with the real bronze ones found in the temple: *Alla ricerca* 1992, 75 cat. 5.4; *Iside* 1997, 431 cat. V50. Therefore,

questions may be raised on Egelhaaf-Gaiser's (2000, 190) assumption that the pictures definitely do not represent actual sanctuary functions, but rather an idealized representation thereof: "Mit Sicherheit geben die Bilder nicht die im Heiligtum real vorhandenen Amtsfunktionen, sondern eine idealisierte Darstellung wieder."

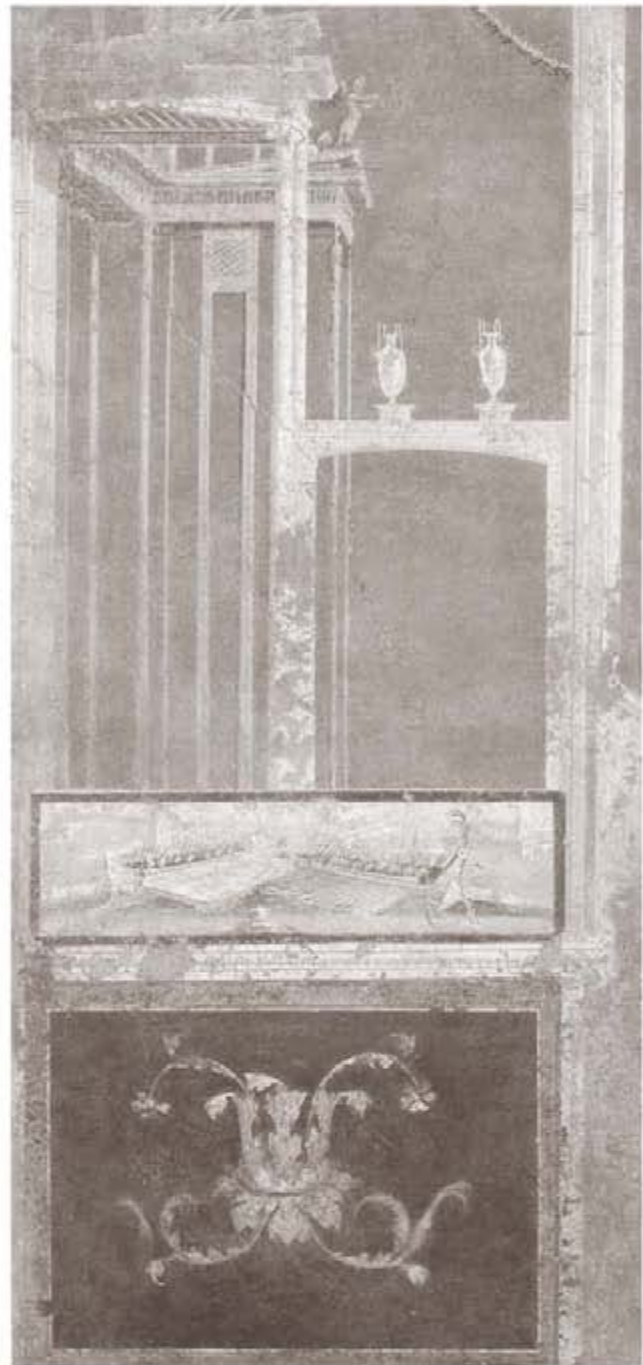
¹⁴ PPM VIII (1998) 822-841. Cf. Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 189-190.



Fig. 78 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, decoration of the portico, after AD 62 (from *Alla ricerca* 1992, 31).

Fig. 79 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, northern portico, section with architectural elements, naval battle and frieze with Egyptian motifs, after AD 62, from *De Caro*, 2006a, page 76. For a colour version of this figure, see page 250.

dos with golden candelabra painted on a white background, crowned by statues of Isis and her priestesses and priests. These candelabra might be compared to the candelabra carried by the priests painted in the portico (fig. 80).¹⁵ The *ekklesiasterion*'s floor in *cocciopesto* contained inscriptions recording father, son and mother in genitive and nominative: *N. Popidi Ampliati*, *N. Popidi Celsini* and *Corelia Celsa*. The walls had a decorative structure like the portico and the panels contain large landscapes which have been interpreted as an evocation of the funerary islands in the region of Philae.¹⁶ The separating elements contain heavy columns and cornices (fig. 84). The upper zone was already lost when excavations started. While Egyptian elements can be distinguished in some of the landscapes, Egypt itself is never really depicted (fig. 85). The landscapes largely correspond with the general fashion of landscape depictions in the



¹⁵ *Alla ricerca* 1992, 54 (five of ten candelabra preserved); Moormann 1988, 208, gives an incorrect indication of the original location.

¹⁶ For these islands see Meyboom 1995, 61-62; Brenk 1993 (he only mentions one island, namely the Abaton or Bigga).



Fig. 80 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, eastern portico, Harpocrates (photo author). For a colour version of this figure, see page 250.

Fourth Style and one may compare them with those in houses, for example the House of the Old Hunt and the House of the Small Fountain.¹⁷ It is only on close inspection that typical, place-determining objects like the sarcophagus of Osiris (also seen as the Djed pillar, an object used in the veneration of Osiris), and the male sphinxes become clear.¹⁸ Moreover, there are mythological scenes, two of which (from the side walls) have been

¹⁷ See Peters 1963, 167-170; Croisille 1988. For landscapes with Egyptian islands see Meyboom 1995, 62, figs. 50-51.

¹⁸ Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 142-143; Merkelbach 1965, 148-149, who proposes that the bird sitting on top of the sarcophagus is a phoenix (similarly Capriotti Vittozzi 2000, 137); Moormann 1988, 208. See (most extensively) Meyboom 1995, 58-59, fig. 76, whose thorough treatment argues that the bird might be a falcon representing Isis or Horus. During the 2005 Leiden congress on *aegyptiaca romana* (proceedings:

Bricault, Versluys and Meyboom 2006), K. Parlasca argued that the usual interpretation as a sarcophagus is false: such an object would never have stood erect in this type of context (cf. Parlasca 1988, 178-179, pl. 68.2 and Meyboom's comment in Meyboom 1995, 302-303 note 97). Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 189 calls the decorations a "hellenisierte Version des Isiskultes". Scagliarini Corlàita 2006, 151, fig. 7, again interprets the bird on the sarcophagus as a phoenix with a tripartite apex on its head.



Fig. 81 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, eastern portico, priest, after AD 62, now MN Naples, from *Alla ricerca* 1992, pl. VII. For a colour version of this figure, see page 250.



Fig. 82 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, cult minister from the portico, from *Alla ricerca* 1992, pl. VII. For a colour version of this figure, see page 250.

preserved. Io is the protagonist in both scenes. In the scene on the northern wall she is seen under the vigilance of Argos who is offered a syrinx by Hermes. The god will not lull him with his songs and music, but will make him sleep by touching him with the caduceus.¹⁹ On the southern wall Isis receives Io in Canopus. Io will give birth to Epaphos, the son begotten by Zeus, in Egypt. She is seen as the founding mother of the Greek cult of Isis (fig. 86).²⁰ The piece, now missing, from the western (back) wall, possibly showed the couple of Io and Zeus,²¹ but in that case it interrupts the story told on the side walls and applied in the usual order from left to right. However, the presence of Zeus at the focal point of the rear wall would have enhanced Io's prestige as the

¹⁹ MN inv. 9548, see *Alla ricerca* 1992, 57-58 cat. 1.69, plate XIV, where the variation of the story is attributed to Ovid, *Met.* 1.669-687 and 713-721. Cf. Wesenberg 1988 and Bergmann 1995, 95, fig. 5 on a possible relationship with a lost masterpiece by Nikias and the other examples such as those in the House of Livia in Rome and the Macellum in Pompeii. Another version is known from the House of Meleager (De Caro 2006a, 89; Nava 2007, 98).

²⁰ MN inv. 9558, see *Alla ricerca* 1992, 55-56 cat. 1.63, pl. X; Grenier 1993; *Iside* 1997, 439 (it is pointed out here how meticulously precise are the depictions of the attributes like the caduceus and the sistrum, which contrasts with the

sketchy style of the rest of the scene); Bianchi 2006, 482, 498, 502 fig. 6. There is a copy of this scene in the House of the Duke of Aumale (De Caro 2006a, 89; Bianchi 2006, 502, fig. 8; Nava 2007, 100).

²¹ Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 189; G. Stefani in Bragantini 2010, 206-207, pl. XXII.2. N. Icard-Ganolio, Io, *LIMC* V (1990) 669 gives one (Greek) example only, whereas our two themes (*ibid.*, p. 667 cat. 36 and p. 670 ca. 65) are more frequently, though not abundantly depicted. A landscape has been proposed more frequently, probably, because it fits the series of landscapes in the room well.



Fig. 83 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, portico, entrance to *ekklesiasterion*, candelabrum with Isis (photo H. van de Sluis).

lover of the most important Olympian god. Their history connects Greek mythology with that of Egypt.²²

A French team has made clear that the original decoration from before AD 62 in this room consisted of the imitation of isodome wall structures in a shallow stucco relief.²³ With or without references to Egypt, the paintings in the portico and the *ekklesiasterion* (figs. 78-86) do not differ with respect to their compositions and their use of details from contemporary interior decoration of houses in Pompeii. It is clear that qualitatively good painters received the commission. The colours are variegated, but not extremely expensive – Egyptian blue and purple are lacking – and hence the paintings reflect the taste of determinate social classes in Pompeian society after AD 62, mainly formed by former freedmen like the Popidii who financed the temple's refurbishment after the earthquake.²⁴

As to these freedmen, an original approach to the Iseum is that of Lauren Hackworth Petersen who tries to define specific features in architecture and decoration after AD 62 that could illuminate the influence of upstarts like the Popidii. Unfortunately, the results are not conclusive, as the author also states, and do not offer a new interpretation. She points to the possibility that the choice of the *gens Popidia* to finance the reconstruction of the Iseum did not only stem from sheer religious feelings, but was also due to the popularity of "things Egyptian that permeated all sectors of society."²⁵

While all these decorations can be seen as normal mural decorations in the Fourth Style albeit with iconography slightly adapted to fit the sacred environment, the frescoes in room 5, called *sacrarium*, located at the southern side next to the theatre, are very different (figs. 87-88). The wall surfaces are not subdivided into the usual

horizontal and vertical partitions and the plain white background is covered with roughly painted, large figures which seemed to float on the surface. They have been executed in few colours (yellow, red, brown) with broad brushstrokes and represent Egyptian figures. Interestingly, the Minister Bernardo Tanucci ordered the coarse paintings to be removed in 1765 because he found the iconography of interest, whereas the museum custodian,

²² Cf. Grenier 1994; Merkelbach 1997, 86-88, pl. 17-19. Lorenz 2005, 218 stresses the peculiar combination, lacking in domestic contexts.

²³ Blanck, Eristov and Fincker 2000, 291. Already their compatriot Mazois (1838, 25) had discovered many irregularities that were attributed to a previous phase. Not so in Laidlaw 1985.

²⁴ On pigments and technique see *Alla ricerca* 1992, 123-

132. On Egyptian blue and its price Delamare, Monge and Repoux 2004, esp. 90. Concerning the principal members of the *gens Popidia* see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 197. See also note 40.

²⁵ Petersen 2006, 17-56, figs. 7-10, 12-14, 16-25, 31-32, pls. I-II. Quotation on p. 55. On freedmen and art see also D'Ambra and Métraux 2006.



Fig. 84 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, south wall of *ekklesiastērion*, from *Alla ricerca* 1992, pl XVI. For a colour version of this figure, see page 251.

Giuseppe Canart, viewed them as unimportant and wanted to keep them *in situ*.²⁶ The original context can be reconstructed more or less precisely. The southern wall, that was the back of the theatre, had no decorations. The western wall showed the couple Isis and Osiris sitting on a throne and a rock respectively, as we know from an old print. To the left of Isis, probably at the north edge, next to the corner, one saw a scarab, a resting lion and two cobras under a wreath and two rods. The Osiris, on the right, is flanked by two cobras and, on the right, by a sycamore in which the snake of Aesculapius is curling upwards; the state of preservation was so good that the piece of plaster could be cut out.²⁷ The longest, northern wall still has a niche in the centre and an old illustration gives an almost complete overview of this wall.²⁸ On the niche's left (west), Bes was sitting on a throne. To its right followed two large pieces. First is the discovery of Osiris by Isis. Isis, standing on her boat, is towing another boat on which Osiris' bodily remains are guarded in a chest (fig. 88). She is returning from her search on the Nile, the *inuentio Osiridis*.²⁹ The large heads flanking this scene might represent the Upper and Lower Nile. In the lower section of this fragment, the largest that was cut out, are the two snakes of a Roman *lararium* flanking a *cista mystica*, so that we have a sort of synthesis of two religious realms in one room and, at the same time an Egyptian *lararium*. To date we know of only one parallel to this, that in the peristyle of the House of the Gilded Cupids.³⁰ Four single pieces contain the animals (seen on the old engraving) next to the right boat (lion, cobra, vulture and ibis). Finally, another large fragment contains six more animals (baboon, ram, jackal, mouse, vulture, and ichneumon: Toth, Khnum, Anubis, Nekbeth and Horus from Letopolis). Paul Meyboom has sug-

²⁶ De Caro 2006a, 75-79. Images in *PPM VIII* (1998) 813-82. Short descriptions in *Alla ricerca* 1992, 34, 59-61, 84 and Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 188-189.

²⁷ Drawing in *PPM VIII*, 820. Cf. *Alla ricerca* 1992, 59.

²⁸ Engraving in *Alla ricerca* 1992, 85 (= cat. 7.9). Cf. S. De Caro in *Iside* 1997, 342.

²⁹ Extensively Meyboom 1995, 58, 302 note 96, fig. 75; Poole 2004. Seen as either the *naugium Isidis* or the *inuentio*

Osiridis: Petersen 2006, 33, fig. 22. On the large heads, see Meyboom 1995, 253 note 105.

³⁰ Seiler 1992, 46, figs. 249-250, 270-275; Krzyszkowska 2002, 152-153, fig. 26; Petersen 2006, 45-46, fig. 28. Here are the same snakes and a *cista mystica* in the lower zone. Krzyszkowska 2002, 143-157 gives a good overview of private cult places for Egyptian divinities.



Fig. 85 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, south wall of *ekklesiasterion*, landscape with sarcophagus of Osiris (from *Alla ricerca* 1992, pl. XIII).
For a colour version of this figure, see page 251.

gested that the group of animals could represent the Nile area of the first cataract.³¹ The east wall, finally, had a large depiction of the bull Apis, but there must have been much more, now definitely lost.

Jean-Claude Golvin has argued that the figures served a didactic goal, to instruct the new members of the cult.³² It is of some relevance to know that cult objects were stored in this room, much like the sacristy in a Roman Catholic church.³³

Finally, there are some private rooms at the southern side where the priests or other cult personnel could have lived.³⁴ As far as the decorations are known, they are ordinary schemes in the Fourth Style without specific Egyptian elements. They contain normal mythological images and medallions similar to those in the Bacchus room in the Temple of Apollo. The only image which stands out is that of a large white cat lying on a footstool. This does not represent the Egyptian *bastet*, but an ordinary pet animal (MNN 848).

There is a diversity of views on how to interpret the Egyptian and/or Greco-Roman motifs in some of the paintings described earlier. Robert A. Wild and Reinhold Merkelbach give a purely Egyptian interpretation of

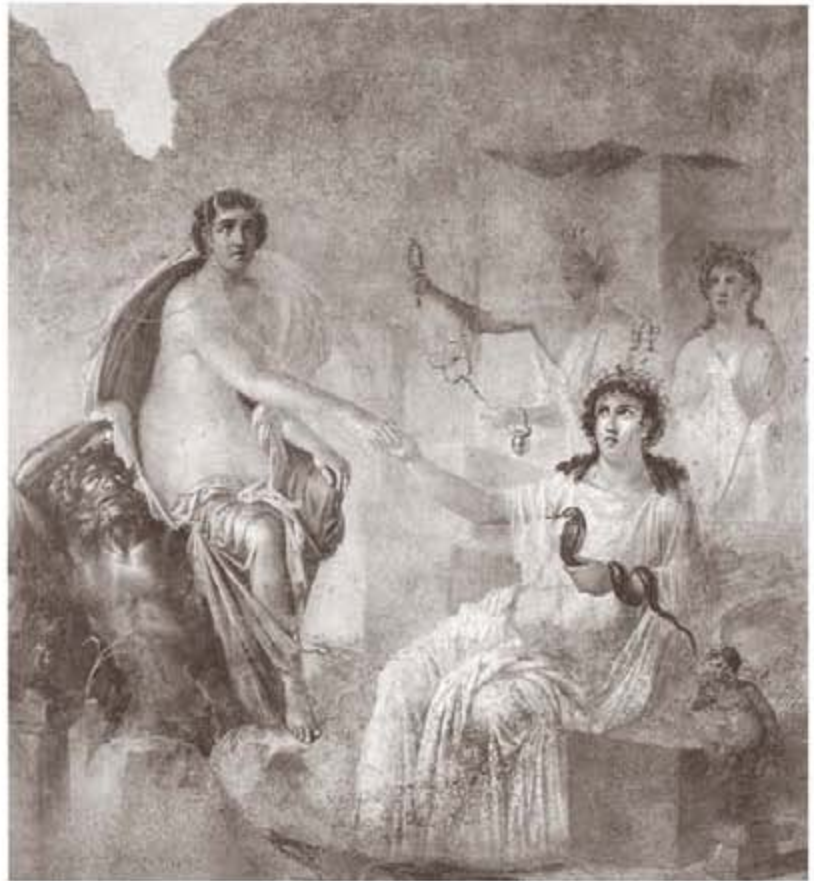
³¹ Pers. comm. Cf. Meyboom 1995, 233 note 46.

³² Golvin 1994, 244 note 48. De Caro 2006a, 75-79, speaks about a “catechismo dipinto”.

³³ Thanks to the richness of finds, the room might interpreted as a storeroom (Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 188). As to the objects in the niche see *Alla ricerca* 1992, 86-87 Plans nos. 5a-c; 73 cat. 5.2 (terracotta sphinx inv.no. 22572).

³⁴ PPM VIII (1998) 842-849. Room 9: kitchen (see *ThesCRA* IV (2005) 244 no. 3 (s.v. kitchen), 255 no. 8, s.v. Iseum et Serapeum); rooms 7-8: living rooms; room 11: private bath (Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 188). Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 459-460 points to the efficiency of this small house. A similar arrangement can be seen at the north side of the portico of the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii.

Figure 86 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, south wall of *ekklesiasterion*, Isis and Io in Canopus (from *Alla ricerca* 1992, pl. X). For a colour version of this figure, see page 252.



Perseus and Andromeda in the *Nilometer* (fig. 77). Merkelbach is very strong-minded in his opinion, saying that any Greek representation in Isis temples (for example Narcissus) should be related to the cult of Isis.³⁵

Perseus had contacts with Egypt and Kepheus, the father of Andromeda, and came to the Temple of Ammon in the Siwa oasis for advice. For Wild the liberation of Andromeda stands for the liberation of Egypt by Seth/Typhon. In the stucco reliefs, however, no references to these details are identifiable and, moreover, the presence of the putti cannot be explained in this manner. The focus is on the amorous couple and I fear that Merkelbach's opinion is too rigid, even if specific Egyptian elements are present. Therefore, I concur with Ulrike Egelhaaf-Gaiser who stresses the decorative function which corresponds to contemporary tastes.³⁶ A possible connection with Egypt might be that the love between Perseus and Andromeda is a reflection of the bounties from the land of the Nile.

³⁵ Wild 1981, 76-84, pl. 5.2; Merkelbach 1997, 82: "Wenn in diesem Tempel ein griechischer Mythos abgebildet wird (z.B. Narziss), dann darf man annehmen, daß der Mythos in Beziehung zur Isisreligion gesetzt worden ist." They refer to depictions of Perseus in the Serapeion in Alexandria and the Temple of Harpocrates in Pelusion. As to the latter the source would be Aphthonios, *Progymnasmata* (ed. H. Rabe 1926, 40, lines 9-11). Cf. McKensie, Gibson and Reyer 2004, 105 note 175.

³⁶ Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 188: "Diese mythologischen Mittelbilder haben primär dekorative Funktion, die dem Zeitgeschmack entspricht, wie auch die typischen Motive von Eros und Delphinen am Architrav der drei 'Nebenseiten' bestätigen." She does not quote Merkelbach 1997, but characterises Wild's interpretation (1981, 76) as difficult. At p. 249-250 Egelhaaf-Gaiser suggests that the story refers to the indeterminate antiquity of the cult, but such a historicism does not occur frequently in Pompeian mythological painting.



Fig. 87 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, north wall of *sacrarium*, AD 62, fragment with animals from *De Caro*, 2006a, page 76. For a colour version of this figure, see page 253.



Fig. 88 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, north wall of *sacrarium*, AD 62, fragment with animals from *De Caro*, 2006a, page 76. For a colour version of this figure, see page 253.

Jean-Michel Croisille sees the sea battles (fig. 79) in the portico of this temple as a an evident symbol of the yearly festivals for Isis, *Nauigium Isidis*.³⁷ During this Roman (!) feast at the beginning of the sea trade season in spring, a small boat is driven into the water to mark this event. Eventually this celebration changed into a carnival-like festival. The images in the Temple of Isis, however, show real battleships that are in open sea, not far from the coast, or in a lake. Another point is that *naumachiae* (the usual interpretation of these images) were never staged during this festival. Croisille's idea, therefore, has no sound basis and ought to be dismissed.³⁸ Another reason suggested for the presence of these boats is that sea merchants venerated Isis as their patroness. Golvin argues that it is not surprising to find such an instance of the evocation of the marine world since we

³⁷ Croisille 1988, 131. See also Merkelbach 1965, 145; Capriotti Vittozzi 2000, 137.

³⁸ In Wild 1981, Takács 1995 and Alvar 2008, 296-300 the *Nauigium Isidis* is discussed, albeit without allusions to sea

battles or *naumachiae*. On *naumachiae* see Berlan-Bajard 2006, who dismisses these images as representations of such battles (p. 43-45).

know that Isis became the Roman goddess of sailors.³⁹ But, again, the ships are not mercantile vessels! Finally, because of the obvious relationship of Isis with Egypt, one might think that the ships represent Augustus's victory near Actium. These depictions were made by the same painters (or workshop) active in the Temple of Apollo and the atrium of the House of the Vettii.⁴⁰ Had the Vettii brothers chosen this motif for specific reasons, perhaps because some ancestor had fought at Actium? Since they were freedmen, this ancestor would have been their *patronus*. Alternatively, the Vettii brothers might have had commercial contacts with Egypt.⁴¹ This raises the question whether they exercised some influence regarding the paintings in the temples for Apollo and Isis. Concerning the Temple of Isis, however, the famous inscription about the reconstruction reports the name of the six-year-old Numerius Popidius Celsinus as the patron and financier of the restoration works.⁴² Furthermore, none of the many objects in the temple bears an inscription referring to the Vettii brothers. Because this thesis cannot be substantiated, it should be rejected as untenable. The choice of the same themes and the same painters can be explained on purely practical grounds.⁴³

Pygmies are only present in the festoon in the paintings of the portico, where they fit in with the Egyptian imagery, together with the priests, the cult objects and typically Egyptian animals. Apparently, no special function can be attributed to them in the context of bounty represented by the scrolls.⁴⁴ The food still lives in the same murals might either refer to the meals that took place here, or simply be generic references to the richness brought by Isis.⁴⁵ But, again, it should not be forgotten that they are among the most beloved stock figures in Fourth Style painting and may rather be more or less meaningless.

There is a distinct hierarchy in the emphasis on Egypt in the temple's decorative schemes.⁴⁶ The *sacrarium* in this respect is at the top, although pictorially the murals are of low quality and the room's main function is that of storage (figs. 87-88). In terms of iconography, style and composition, these decorations are quite spe-

³⁹ Golvin 1994, 243: "Il n'est pas étonnant non plus de trouver ici avec une telle instance l'évocation du monde marin, puisque l'on sait qu'Isis était devenue à l'époque romaine la déesse des navigateurs."

⁴⁰ Avilia and Jacobelli 1989; Sampaolo 1994 and 1995. On the Vettii painters and their work in the Temple of Isis and elsewhere in Pompeii, see Esposito 2007, 156-157, figs. 17-18, 21 (candelabra *Ekklesiasterion*) and, most importantly Esposito 2009, 18-19, 45, 49-132. Within the workshop's chronology, the paintings in the Temple of Isis should be dated to the early Vespasian era (Esposito 2009, 57). On the Vettii as social climbers in Pompeian society see Petersen 2006, 5-6, figs. 1-4. Cf. note 39.

⁴¹ Avilia and Jacobelli 1989, Sampaolo 1995 and Hoffmann 1993, 142 report the connection with the Vettii, without further discussion.

⁴² CIL X 846; Vidman 1969, no. 482, cited in all relevant literature. Thanks to French scholarship (Blanck, Eristov and Fincker 2000), it has become clear that he (or, more probably, his father) had grossly exaggerated his intervention by using the formula *a fundamento p(ecunia) s(ua) restituit*. The father, Numerius Popidius Ampliatus, dedicated a statue of Bacchus-Osiris (CIL X 847; Vidman 1969, no.

483), whereas father, son and mother Cor<n>elia Celsa are mentioned in the mosaic floor of the *sacrarium* (see p. 153; CIL X 848; Vidman 1969, no. 484). Concerning the principal members of the *gens Popidia* see Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 197. U. Pappalardo suggests in Mazzoleni and Pappalardo 2005, 49 that the young man with the situla, who is the only one to have hair instead of the usual baldness, might be this Numerius (Museo Nazionale, inv. 8918; *Alla ricerca* 1992, 47 cat. 1.26 with colour ill. plate VII, here fig. 82), which is not an implausible idea.

⁴³ Further references are given by Sampaolo 1994 and 1995.

⁴⁴ On the symbolic value of scrolls see most extensively Mathea-Förtsch 1999. Cf. *supra* p. 110.

⁴⁵ As to tokens of *xenia* see Moormann 1984. Or even as offerings, so S. De Caro in *Iside* 1997, 340: "senza dubbio alludenti alle offerte di cibo che erano tipiche del culto della dea."

⁴⁶ This gradual process of Egyptianisation is well described in Brenk 1993, 157-163. In my opinion, he attributes too much of a mystical meaning to the decorations in the portico and the *ekklesiasterion*. He points out the peculiarity of the two Io depictions in the latter room. David Balch (2003 and 2008, 59-83) compares the sufferings of Io with the martyrdom of Saint Paul.

cific and they might have been intended for the eyes of the experts, those who believed in Isis. Their quality is considerably lower than the other decorations and the palette is more modest, while the lack of structure in this 'floating' composition barely matches the usual repertoire of compositional schemes. This simplification of the painter's technique is so peculiar that one wonders whether this room was painted by a believer who painted images unfamiliar and possibly inaccessible to most Pompeians, rather than a professional painter.⁴⁷ Or did the painters who decorated the remainder of the complex in a normal style, unfamiliar with Egyptian iconography, try to represent examples seen on papyrus scrolls? Personally, I am inclined to opt for the first solution, precisely because of the qualitative discrepancy between the *sacrarium* and the other rooms.⁴⁸ The patrons and users of the complex were apparently not offended by the differences in quality. In other words, the Temple of Isis is like a Janus, it has both an Egyptian and a Roman face. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the painted tombs from the same period in Alexandria, so well analysed by Marjorie Susan Venit. Following earlier studies by Lasz   Castiglione, she defines his 'double style' in the same vein as is proposed in my analysis.⁴⁹ When she compares some figures from the Tigrane Tomb with priests and attendants in the portico of the Temple of Isis in Pompeii, she labels the latter as "classical", which might evoke a false understanding, as they are really Roman and possess nothing Greek.⁵⁰ But as a whole, the Tigrane Tomb, to single out just one example, dated to the late first or early second century AD, displays a similar dichotomy of style. This gradual Egyptianisation can also be substantiated by the rooms' functions and accessibility to visitors, as we have seen.⁵¹

Some of the objects found by the excavators have purely cultic functions, but others are votive offerings.⁵² The statues of Dionysos and Aphrodite, like the stuccoed couple of Perseus and Andromeda and the putti on the side walls of the *Nilometer*, represent the power of Isis to bring bounty and luck to the people and they also represent the conceptual link between the Roman and the Egyptian world that was familiar to most inhabitants of Pompeii. It remains unclear whether Isis was religiously connected with the city goddess Venus Pompeiana; the material found in the temple is not conclusive in this regard. The preserved monuments differ from our shrine in many other respects. Whether Pompeii's Iseum, as it was set up to function between 62 and 79, formed an exception to the rule cannot be verified.⁵³

ISIS IN ROME ?

A problematic complex is the Iseum on the Esquiline of which large remains of the substructure are still standing in Via Pasquale Villari. The problem is the paucity of data about the architecture and environment for which we can only rely on old finds. Mariette de Vos was able to connect two stucco reliefs known from designs in the

⁴⁷ S. De Caro observes the difference and suggests a painter of *lararia* painted these murals (in *Alla ricerca* 1992, 11).

⁴⁸ Cf. what is said by S. De Caro in *Iside* 1997, 342: "*Prive di qualit   artistica, ma di carattere pi   eminentemente religioso, erano invece le pitture della stanza accanto, il cosiddetto sacrarium.*" V. Sampaolo (*Alla ricerca* 1992, 37) even feels the religious atmosphere is only present in the *sacrarium*.

⁴⁹ Venit 2002, 125-126. She discusses various examples which do not require further comment here (pp. 124-165).

⁵⁰ Venit 2002, 155; other comparisons pp. 153-155 [our complex is not included in Venit's index].

⁵¹ Cf. Tak  cs 1995 and Wild 1981; V. Sampaolo, in D'Ambrosio, Guzzo and Mastroberto 2003, 233-235.

⁵² The really Egyptian objects are gathered in *Alla ricerca* 1992, 77-79. On the mixture of Egyptian and other objects see also

Poole 2004.

⁵³ Krzys  wska 2002, 243-244 dismisses suggestions by F. Zevi and M. de Vos of a connection between the first temple and the House of the Faun (with bibliography). I agree with her and thus refrain from further comments on the matter. Krzys  wska's inclusion of the temple in her monograph on private cults is based on the assumption that the famous dedication implies a private foundation. As to the Hellenistic date of the first sacral building, probably dedicated to a female deity, see Varone and Iorio 2005 and Marcatilli 2006, 39, who connects a cult of Isis with that of Asklepios in the 'Temple of Zeus Meilichios' (here p. 70 note 89), both dating to the second century BC. Esposito 2009, 57 (with bibliography) connects the latest phase with Vespasian.

seventeenth-century collection of Cassiano dal Pozzo with this sanctuary. One of them shows the left half of a vault, subdivided into coffers. In the central panel Isis and Harpocrates are standing together, whereas the smaller lacunars contain vignettes which show Egyptian worshippers and falcons of Horus. The second piece must be the adornment of a lunette. Its central aedicula has a standing Isis, which has a Fortuna and a Harpocrates as secondary figures next to her. De Vos attributes these decorations to room 16, well preserved under a nunnery, and dates the complex and its decorations to the Flavian period or the subsequent years up to Hadrian. It is clear that the iconography of these decorations is strictly connected with the goddess of the temple, as is the case in the Iseum in Pompeii.⁵⁴

A GERMAN OUTPOST: MAINZ

Very little is known about the decoration of the Iseum in Mainz and definitive conclusions are thus not possible. The outer walls of the two shrines were whitewashed. The only published figural painting is the head of an Anubis on a red background found in the interior of a cult room. The image of this god of the underworld (or one of the worshippers in the god's retinue) and inscriptions made it possible to attribute the sanctuary to Isis and her fellow deities. This means that the building had a cult-specific decoration, at least in terms of iconography, like that in Pompeii. The cult houses were erected in the Flavian era and also housed the Magna Mater. Moreover, there was a well symbolizing the *Nilometer*.⁵⁵

MITHRAS AND HIS GROTTOS

Spelaea, the grottoes dedicated to Mithras built by worshippers, are widespread across the Roman world. While some are newly built, in urban contexts they are often housed in existing buildings. The latter date from the end of the first (Caesarea) until the late third, possibly the fourth century AD (Huarte). Cult practices dictated specific rules in terms of architecture and layout and, as a result, decorations show the same characteristics. Among the elements connected with the god of Light are planets and stars. The number of *spelaea* could be rather high in large towns since a typical Mithraic community numbered some 20 to 40 people. It is likely that multiple groups used the same building during different rituals, so that there was an intensive use of the grottoes, probably enhanced by the relatively low status of the followers of Mithras.⁵⁶

Decoration mainly consists of painting, followed by floor mosaics, stone or concrete benches along the side walls and removable sculptural elements. One cannot say that these shrines were rich in their decoration, marble revetments are rare and one instance of well-executed stucco reliefs can be singled out as extraordinary, namely the Mithraeum under the church of S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome. The sculptures were considered the most precious objects which enhanced the monument's status and worshippers who could afford it certainly dedicated a relief or statue(ette) to their beloved god. However, it is not clear if this simplicity can be solely explained by the modest social and economic status of the members of the cult groups since the nature of the cult required modest apparatus.⁵⁷ L. Michael White observed an increase in the wealth and type of cultic objects and decora-

⁵⁴ De Vos 1997, 99-142, esp. 100, 107, figs. 157-158, 166. Cf. M. de Vos, *LTUR* III (1996) 110-112; *LTUR* V (1999) 269, with further bibliography; Whitehouse 2001, 249-253 nos. 61-62.

⁵⁵ Klose and Angermeyer 2003, 524; Witteyer 2004, 29.

⁵⁶ The bibliography is very vast and the main studies will be cited in the following notes. See the fundamental studies by

M.J. Vermaseren listed in the bibliography and Merkelbach 1984; Beck 2006; Hijmans 2009, 166-186. For the eastern part of the Roman Empire see *Topoi*(Lyon) 11.1, 2001. Klauck 1995, I, 119-126, gives a succinct, but clear overview. For numbers of Mithraea see note 60.

⁵⁷ Rieger 2004, 256-257 (on the basis of epigraphic data about the commissioners of these shrines).

tion in the course of time.⁵⁸ In the following a short survey of the most important instances of Mithraea with mural paintings will be given, starting with Rome and Ostia, where we find the most examples with remains of the original decorations.⁵⁹

ROME

Among the thirty Mithraea which are known in the city of Rome⁶⁰ some eleven have remains of painted decorations or are reported to have had such. In a number of cases the god is represented in this form instead of a relief or statue, other buildings contained traces of wall and vault decorations.

Painted examples of the Mithras *tauroctonos* on the back wall of cult rooms are known from the Mithraea under Palazzo Barberini and in Marino (see *infra*), whereas a similar depiction must have adorned a shrine of Mithras in the Via Firenze.⁶¹ In the latter, the paintings must date to the end of the second century and they were covered with another version in stucco relief at the beginning of the third century.

The painting in Palazzo Barberini also shows the life of Mithras. This feature is normally found in the northern provinces in the form of reliefs and in the East it appears in its painted form (see *infra*). The holy space was constructed around the middle of the second century in what must have been a private *nymphaeum*. Some remains of that structure were found by the excavators. According to them, the paintings date to the third century, although the late second century is also plausible.⁶² Paul Meyboom discussed the chronological developments of the Mithraeum Barberini and those in Capua and Marino. He observed a transition from plastic rendering of the figures towards a linear depiction. These features are linked to chronology, rather than just the painters' skills and personal styles. According to Meyboom, the realistic Capua decoration is thus the oldest, painted shortly after 180, whereas the slightly less realistic rendition of the Marino paintings dates them to around 200. Barberini, with paintings in the linear style, dates to between 225 and 250. Meyboom also dates Mithraea in Ostia, arguing that the Mithraeum of Lucretius Menander (figs. 89-91) dates to 160-180, that of the Seven Gates from around 210 and that of the Painted Walls around 200. Although there is no hard evidence for Meyboom's proposal, his reasoning is sound and the proposed chronology is the best currently available.

A combination of the two techniques of stucco and painting can be seen in the Mithraeum under the early Christian church of S. Stefano Rotondo on the Aventine that formed part of the *Castra peregrinorum*, the camp for troops from outside Rome.⁶³ The room was adorned with white panels around 160, when it still formed part of the camp and was partly preserved within the Mithraeum installed during the reconstruction of 180, when the back wall above the altar was adorned with an elaborate Mithras *tauroctonos* in painting and stucco, preserved in the form of fragments. Mithras' head, with its gilded skin, is particularly striking and the colour alludes to the sun. As in Marino, Sol and Luna were juxtaposed in the form of medallions and there must have been other cult images, of which, however, barely anything has been preserved. During the the third century the room was

⁵⁸ White 1990, 47-59. Cf. Rieger 2004, 256-257.

⁵⁹ See in general Merkelbach 1984, which includes an overview of Mithraea and their furnishings (pp. 133-146 and pp. 274-395, images). A good update in Rieger 2004, 252-257, also valuable for Mithraea outside of Ostia. See also Lucia Romizzi, Mithraeum, *ThesCRA* IV (2005) 275-280. For a discussion of the iconography of Mithras see R. Volkommer, *LIMC* VI (1992) 583-626.

⁶⁰ Coarelli 1979 gives a list of 40 Mithraea and supposes that there must have been at least 700 of them in Rome. *LTUR* III (1996) 257-270 has 28 instances, the identification of one on the grounds of the Ospedale di San Giovanni sul Celio

is doubtful. For this reason, it is omitted from discussion even if there are traces of paintings (J. Calzini Gysens, *ibid.*, 261-262). About this area, without this Mithraeum, Pavolini 2006, 67-92. Rieger 2004, 252 only identifies nine examples as definite Mithraea.

⁶¹ J. Calzini Gysens, *LTUR* III (1996) 262, with bibliography.

⁶² J. Calzini Gysens, *LTUR* III (1996) 263-264; Meyboom 1982: 220-250 AD; Hijmans 2009, 291 n. E5-2. Picture of the Barberini painting in Baldassarre 2002, 350.

⁶³ Lissi Caronna 1986, 11-14, pls. I-III, XVIII (phase 1), 24-28, pls. III-IV, XXI-XXIV (phase 2); *ead.*, *LTUR* I (1993) 251; Pavolini 2006, 57-60, figs. 29-32.



Fig. 89 Ostia, Mithraeum of C. Lucretius Menander, right side wall (photo S.T.A.M. Mols). For a colour version of this figure, see page 254.

extended, resulting in an entirely new decoration which destroyed the existing paintings and consisted mostly of imitations of marble incrustations (*giallo antico*, *rosso antico*, etc.). The back wall's stuccoes were replaced by a marble relief above a painted red dado with large craters and doves. Sol and Luna were retouched. The variety of the colours was enhanced by the numerous sculptures which display a strong sense of polychromy.⁶⁴ The new, extremely richly furnished Mithraeum was probably used until 370-380, as proposed by Elisa Lissi Caronna, or even the beginning of the fifth century as suggested by Carlo Pavolini.⁶⁵ This Mithraeum is the only example in the city of Rome that can definitely be associated with military people as the principal users of the shrine.

In the Mithraeum under the church of Santa Prisca on the Aventine, the cult room's long walls were occupied by a procession of believers, including male figures representing the seven degrees of initiation. Furthermore, there are murals of a *taurobolium* and Sol and Mithras. Two layers of painting have been distinguished by the excavators Maarten J. Vermaseren and Carel Claudius van Essen, who date them to 200 and 220 respectively.⁶⁶ The *spelaeum* is located in a late first century AD *domus*, interpreted by the Dutch scholars as the *privata Traiani*, the house of the future emperor. This stood until c. 400 circa, when the complex was destroyed by Christians.⁶⁷

A painted Mithras carrying a solar disc embellished the cult room's western wall in the Mithraeum discovered under the Baths of Caracalla. The shrine was built in a subterranean corridor shortly after the opening of the *thermae* themselves and its decoration must belong to this phase. Some suggest that the man should be a torchbearer, *dadophoros*, an identification that might fit better considering his secondary position on the

⁶⁴ Lissi Caronna 1986, 29-38.

⁶⁵ Lissi Caronna 1986, 46; Pavolini 2006, 59-60.

⁶⁶ Vermaseren and van Essen 1965, 148-178, esp. 173-178; M. Andreussi, *LTUR* III (1996) 268-269 with additional bibliography.

⁶⁷ Vermaseren and Van Essen 1965, 107-116; Hijmans 2009, 291 n. E5-3. Cf. however F. Coarelli, *LTUR* IV (1999) 164-165 and Liedtke 2002, 157-159, who identifies a nearby complex as Trajan's private dwellings.



Fig. 90 Ostia, Mithraeum of C. Lucretius Menander, entrance wall (photo S.T.A.M. Mols). For a colour version of this figure, see page 254.

side wall. The back wall had a relief of which fragments have been found showing Mithras *tauroctonos*.⁶⁸

The Mithraeum under San Clemente was constructed around 180-200 in a former rich *domus* dating to the late first century AD (brick stamps: AD 90-96). It can be observed that the decorations in stucco relief and mosaic from the age of Domitian were considered as rich and relevant when the complex was changed into the shrine. They were not removed from the walls and were instead integrated within the new structure. They still adorn the antechamber and “Mithraic school” on the eastern side of the cult room. The walls of another room received a new decoration that nowadays is barely distinguishable and contains figures that cannot be interpreted.⁶⁹

Remains of a Mithraeum were unearthed in 1928 on Via Giuseppe Pas-salacqua 20 on the Caelian Hill. The excavator Pietro Mottini noted traces of

the painting showing Cautopates in a niche in the back wall. He saw fragments of another figure, probably Cautes. Its date is unknown, but the complex fell into disuse under Constantine.⁷⁰

Few remains of far simpler wall decorations were encountered in 1931 in a Mithraeum on the northern side of the Circus Maximus, next to its *carceres*. The excavators found red bands and a pattern of concentric circles which Carlo Pietrangeli compares with a decoration in the Oberflohrstadt Mithraeum (see p. 178). The Mithraeum was built in the third century and the builders made use of an existing building with rich marble decorations.⁷¹

⁶⁸ M. Piranomonte, *LTUR* III (1996) 267-268.

⁶⁹ Bragantini 1992, 315-326; I. Della Giovampaola, *LTUR* III (1996) 257-259 with bibliography; Bassani 2003, 424.

⁷⁰ J. Calzini Gysens, *LTUR* III (1996) 259-260; Bellelli and

Messineo 1994, 73 and 77.

⁷¹ Pietrangeli 1940, 155, 159-160; A.M. Ramieri, *LTUR* III (1996) 266-267.



Fig. 91 Ostia, Mithraeum of C. Lucretius Menander, detail of fig. 90: 'mensa agonistica' (photo S.T.A.M. Mols).

Remains of vault decorations have been found in the Mithraeum on the crossroads Via XX Settembre and Via Firenze, next to the Ministry of Defence. The room had stone couches and the floor was covered with a simple black and white mosaic. The vault decoration imitated the rocky Mithras' grotto in grey and probably enhanced the place's dark atmosphere. The back wall had a Mithras *tauroctonos*, picked with axes and covered by whitewash, which according to excavator Alessandro Capannari could not be preserved. Capannari notes that the whitewash was a preparatory surface for the application of a new image in stucco relief. However, he does not report finding such a representation or fragments thereof.⁷² The dating of the sanctuary, built into the *domus* of the Nummii Albini who owned the place for a considerable time in late antiquity, is not known. However, since the house was actively used in the early fourth century the construction might date to that era, although Capannari proposes a date around 200 for the Mithras painting since it was of such a high quality.⁷³

In the Mithraeum found under the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, within the Palazzo della Cancelleria, the main room of the sanctuary had a star-studded red wall decoration and some half moons. From the notes of the excavator A. Prandi, Manuel Royo concludes that the Mithraeum was constructed within an existing building in the middle of the third century.⁷⁴

⁷² Capannari 1886, 20-23; J. Calzini Gysens, *LTUR* III (1996) 262; Bassani 2003, 423-424, fig. 156.

⁷³ F. Guidobaldi, *LTUR* II (1995) 146-147 discusses the house of the Nummii, but is silent about the Mithraeum.

⁷⁴ Nogara and Magi 1949, 230: "Notevole su un tratto di

muro una traccia di pittura in rosso con lunule e stelle." The remainder of their contribution concentrates on inscriptions and statues found here. Royo 1984, 883-886 (no paintings mentioned); J. Calzini Gysens, *LTUR* III (1996) 266.

The highly complex excavations in the area of the Crypta Balbi in the Campus Martius also brought to light remains of a flat building from the age of Trajan. Part of it was transformed into a Mithraeum in the middle of the second century or at the beginning of the third century. Contemporary fragments of wall plaster and (possibly) paintings are very scant but the excavators found fragments of fake marble veneer in red, yellow, brown and green, and of panel-like paintings in red on white. About AD 300 the walls were whitewashed and the room's ceiling was lowered. Then it was painted in what is generally called Catacomb-Style stripe paintings. These are in no way specific to the cult room. The floors of some adjacent rooms, however, were covered with an expensive *opus sectile*.⁷⁵ The cult room lost its function at the end of the fourth century, probably due to the restrictive rules of Theodosius.

All Roman Mithraea with paintings were built in existing, sometimes prestigious buildings which had probably lost their original function and changed owner or tenant. Elements of the architecture and the furnishings were not removed but recycled according to a practice also encountered in Ostia.

OSTIA

The seventeen Mithraea discovered in Ostia contain the usual images of the god in relief and there are only two painted examples (Mithraea of the Painted Walls and the Seven Gates). As in Rome, most shrines form part of, or were built into, existing building complexes. Rieger views this practice as advantageous, arguing that the complexes would have been better hidden from non-members.⁷⁶ The modest financial circumstances of most of these cult communities, however, was probably the more important reason for reuse, rather than a desire to conceal secret rituals from outsiders. These properties could have been owned by cult members. Whether secrecy was essential is not known (cf. *infra*, p. 187). In the following the main results of Giovanni Becatti's monograph on the Mithraea in Ostia will be revisited in light of more recent insights. The problem is that nowadays much less is visible than in Becatti's time and his inventory thus remains the most important source.⁷⁷

In the late second century AD a large room in a *domus* from the Hadrianic era was converted into a Mithraeum (figs. 89-91). A certain Gaius Lucretius Menander is recorded in an inscription on the altar as the *pater* and the leader of the community. The decorations above the stone couches contain landscapes and still lifes (birds, fruit, *mensa agonistica*, fig. 91) on white panels with broad red frames (six on the side walls, three on the back wall) and belong to the house's existing secular decoration dating to the mid-second century.⁷⁸ Traces of the original dado are still visible on the entrance wall. It has a green surface with two horizontal yellow bands flanked by yellow lines and one vertical yellow band. The dado had a white background and contained red lines

⁷⁵ Ricci 2004a and 2004b. The finds, among which a glazed crater showing the deeds of Herakles, are discussed in the same volume as Ricci 2004a, pp. 242-277, by L. Sagui and C.M. Coletti. On the floors: Del Vecchio, Petrianni and Ricci 2005 (paintings mentioned on p. 354). Fragments of floor and wall decorations are on display in the museum of the Crypta Balbi.

⁷⁶ Cf. Rieger 2004, 256.

⁷⁷ All Mithraea in Ostia are documented in Becatti 1954. Cf. Meyboom 1982, 43; Bakker 1994, 111-117, 204-206; Steuernagel 2004, 107-108. For the plausible number of 40

Mithraea see Coarelli 1979, 76-77.

⁷⁸ I iii 5. As to the original function of the room, it is mostly identified as an oecus (cf. Falzone 2004, 59 note 16). The chronology of the paintings has been debated and ranges from the middle of the second to the beginning of the third century AD. See Becatti 1954, 17-20, pl. II; Liedtke 2002, 26-28; Falzone 2004, 60; Pavolini 2006, 86. N. Oome (2007) proposes 155-160 the beginning of the third century as a probable date for these murals and the installation of the Mithraeum.



Fig. 92 Ostia, Mithraeum of the Painted Walls, wall with lost Mithras and altar, mural of Mithraeum phase (photo S.T.A.M. Mols). For a colour version of this figure, see page 255.

and strips. Apparently, the ‘idyllic scenes’ in the main zone did not conflict with the room’s new use and could have been subsequently linked with Mithras’ life-giving force.⁷⁹ The paintings on the new couches follow the style of the existing murals.⁸⁰

Similar landscapes have been found in the Mithraeum of the Painted Walls.⁸¹ The cult room is located in a 17 m long corridor in the eastern part of a living quarter and has two sections, a vestibule and the *sanctum*. The floor has a simple white mosaic in *opus tessellatum* without figural elements. The original context before the Mithraeum was built is recognisable in the form of remains of a panel decoration with landscapes and architectural elements on the back wall, the side walls and the small wall pieces between vestibule and main room (figs. 92-94). When the Mithraeum was built, this layer was not picked with axes and was immediately covered with decoration in lime wash. On the back wall a painted Mithras *tauroctonos* must have been applied, with plants on its left and right. This overpaint has almost entirely become brittle and disappeared, leaving nothing but traces of red and blue. In front of this wall a precinct with an altar was constructed, using *spolia*-like marble slabs with inscriptions. Furthermore, the right side wall has been preserved and has two layers of paint. The older decoration served as a good under layer for a set of religious figures in red and brown on a white background, only

⁷⁹ Becatti suggests that the paintings were in a good state when the complex was converted into a shrine at an unknown moment and therefore did not need to be replaced. The altar of Lucretius is dated to the third century. Cf. Spurza 1999, 250; Liedtke 2002, 26-31, pl. 41; Mols 2002, 171; Falzone 2004, 51-60; Oome 2007.

⁸⁰ Liedtke 2002, 28-29 raises doubts about a real ‘phase’: the excavators could have applied fragments from the same decoration as the Antonine house murals.

⁸¹ III i 6. Becatti 1954, 59-68, pls. XI-XIII; Spurza 1999, 250-252; Pavolini 2006, 144-145.



Fig. 93 Ostia, Mithraeum of the Painted Walls, right wall: *nymphus*, *miles*, *heliodromus*, *Cautopates* (photo S.T.A.M. Mols). For a colour version of this figure, see page 255.

preserved on this right wall (fig. 93). In the shrine next to the back wall, Becatti rightly recognised *nymphus* (man clad as a woman, left hand raised), *miles* (man moving to right and pushing a spear as if hunting), *heliodromus* (a naked man with round shield and long torch), whereas his Cautopates at the right must also be a cult member since he is wearing a long dress, is standing next to a tree and holds an object in his left hand. They are standing between pilasters accentuated in stucco relief. Flowers and plants enliven the white surface. A similar sequence is known in the form of mosaics with symbolic signs in the Ostia Mithraea of the Seven Spheres and of Felicissimus,⁸² while in Capua the sequence of stages of initiation (if so; see *infra*) has been executed in paint. The anteroom's right wall has a large white field subdivided into four panels by means of red bands above the beds (fig. 94). Four men, probably members of the cult community, stand on green lozenges which look like consoles of statues.⁸³ The figure on the upper left has a towel (*mappa*) in his left hand, the figure under him holds a torch in his outstretched right hand, whereas the other two, who are mostly no longer visible, do not have any discernible attributes. Next to them there must have been space for four more figures and the same can be assumed for the left wall. They are presumably *leones*, members of the first degree of initiation. Regarding the opposite wall, Becatti observed that the few fragments of the then visible wall painting showed a different theme. He recognised, among others, a human figure with a nimbus and a globe. In my opinion, the attributes identify this person as a god, probably Apollo. The use of stucco in the main room renders the painting more conspicuous, even if the execution of the figures is rather simple and not very refined. Moreover, the colour palette is limited. Becatti dates the shrine to the end of the second century AD. Liedtke discusses more recent proposed dates and concludes that the murals must have been applied in the late Antonine period.⁸⁴

Little is known about the paintings in the Mithraeum's vault under the bath complex named after Mithras. Becatti mentions a vegetal ornament in these Baths of Mithras that, like landscapes in similar contexts, could allude to the god's benevolence. It is the only Mithras shrine clearly installed in an underground room. An enor-

⁸² II viii 6: Becatti 1954, 47-51, pls. VI-VIII; Pavolini 2006, 74-75 (Seven Spheres). V ix, 1: Becatti 1954, 105-112, pls. XXIV-XXV; Pavolini 2006, 228-231 (Felicissimus). Cf. Beck 2006, 103-108.

⁸³ For further details see Moormann 1988, 28-30 (excluding this example). Cult members are also seen on the murals of the Mithraeum in Dura Europos (see p. 179-180).

⁸⁴ Liedtke 2002, 47-48.



Fig. 94 Ostia, Mithraeum of the Painted Walls, anteroom, right wall, four *leones* (photo S.T.A.M. Mols). For a colour version of this figure, see page 255.

mous marble Mithras *tauroctonos* dominates the place, with a floor of red tiles (*bipedales*) and decorations which have now entirely disappeared.⁸⁵

The Mithraeum in the Palazzo Imperiale on the outskirts of *regio* III only had red, unadorned panels which are not particularly informative. The monument is poorly documented.⁸⁶ According to Joanne Spurza, it is the only Mithraeum constructed as such as a part of the whole building complex. Thanks to the inscription on a

⁸⁵ I xvii 2. Becatti 1954, 30, pl. IV; Pavolini 2006, 126-127. The Mithras statue is signed by a Greek artist: Κρίτων Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησεν.

⁸⁶ Becatti 1954, 53, pl. IX; Pavolini 2006, 130. See Visconti

1864, 158-159 for basic data. According to him the red, also found in the Mithraeum in Nida-Hedderheim, might allude to fire, seen as an essential element in the cult of this Persian deity.



Fig. 95 Ostia, Mithraeum of the Seven Gates, back wall with Mithras niche (photo S.T.A.M. Mols). For a colour version of this figure, see page 256.

base of a statue featuring Cautopates and dated AD 162, the erection of the palace and the shrine can be placed in this period and, as a consequence, the Mithraeum is the oldest well dated shrine of its type in Ostia.⁸⁷

The Mithraeum of the Seven Gates owes its name to the depiction of an arcade with seven openings on the floor mosaic at the entrance of the cult room.⁸⁸ The floor and benches are adorned with simple but effectively executed figural mosaics in which cultic elements are clearly emphasized. They show representations of the stages of initiation in the form of the seven gods who personify the corresponding planets (Mars, Venus, Jupiter, etc.) and give the interior its relatively rich distinctive character. Paintings in the cult niche and on the side walls over the couches show motifs pertaining to the cult. Two phases can be distinguished. The first has only been preserved on the left back wall next to the entrance and consists of two zones of white panels with red frames. The right panel has a vignette of a stylised flower. The second phase is that described by Becatti. It was applied without preparing the older layer by picking with axes. The back wall had a red surface around the round niche, which had a blue surface and once contained a statue of Mithras (fig. 95). The white side walls were subdivided into three panels filled with garden representations containing date palms and shrubs behind a yellow lattice fence (figs. 96-97). Another garden panel can be seen on the entrance wall. The vegetation should be connected with Mithras because in and next to his cult grotto there was opulent vegetation, a result of the god's benevolence. Comparable motifs are found in landscapes in the previously Mithraea. Liedtke, however, suggests that they might also be generic scenes. The garden paintings are extraordinary in the context of Mithraeum decorations and recall the fashion of garden representations from first century AD Pompeii and elsewhere on the walls

⁸⁷ J.M. Spurza, *The Life of the Shrine: The Mithraeum of the "Palazzo Imperiale" at Ostia*, *AJA* 95 (1991) 322 (summary of a paper given at the 1991 AIA congress); Spurza 1999, 211, 239-252. The inscription mentioned is *CIL* XIV, 58-59;

Spurza 1999, 244.

⁸⁸ IV v 13. Becatti 1954, 93-99, pls. XIX-XXII; Beck 2006, 114; Pavolini 2006, 194-195.



Fig. 96 Ostia, Mithraeum of the Seven Gates, garden painting (photo S.T.A.M. Mols). For a colour version of this figure, see page 256.

of real gardens. The shrine has been dated to AD 160-170 on the basis of the mosaics and, more importantly, of coins. The paintings are not conclusive in this regard.⁸⁹

The Mithraeum of the Snakes takes its name from the representation of two huge snakes part of a garden representation on a white background and crowned by garlands. It stretches across the cult room's back and left side walls.⁹⁰ A partly preserved genius wearing a white toga with red *clavi*, a wreath on his head and a *cornucopiae* in his left hand stands in the upper corner of the left side wall. The snakes' scales are red and blue on the back and yellow and green on the belly. Following the Roman tradition, the male snake (on the back wall) has a crest on its head. The representation belongs to the decorations of the former apartment and was made in the second century. At the time it was a rare decorative motif. The sanctuary was incorporated in the large tenement at the end of the third century AD.

Finally, I will discuss the problematic Mithraeum of the Three Aisles. Dating to the mid-second century, it has remains of paintings on the rear and side walls (figs. 98-99).⁹¹ The shrine was constructed between the portico of the Caseggiato of the Aurighi and an adjacent building in a former construction of unknown function.⁹²

⁸⁹ Liedtke 2002, 107-108. For the garden: Jashemski 1993, 388 fig. 468.

⁹⁰ V vi 6. Becatti 1954, 101-104, pls. XXIII-XIX; Pavolini 2006, 223-224.

⁹¹ III ii 12. Becatti 1954, 69-75, pl. XIV; Spurza 1999, 249-250; Pavolini 2006, 143-144.

⁹² Becatti 1954, 69 suggests that the shrine was integrated into the Caseggiato degli Aurighi ("impiantandovi"), but

Stephan Mols did not take it into account in his analysis. According to him the outer wall of the tenement, now the right wall of the sanctuary, was closed around 150, when water basins were installed in that section (Mols 2002, 162, 163). The left wall in *opus reticulatum* is some decades older than its counterpart. Our construction might already have been a shrine before it was changed into a Mithraic sanctuary with couches.



Fig. 97 Ostia, Mithraeum of the Seven Gates, garden painting (courtesy Soprintendenza Ostia).

The latter consisted of an apse executed in a beautiful Trajanic or Hadrianic *opus reticulatum* and two rows of four brickwork columns. The cultic couches were installed between columns and outer walls and the floor of the central aisle might have been deepened to create the atmosphere of a Mithraeum-like *spelaeum*. The decoration of the apse shows fancy marble incrustations in garish colours in the dado and above them three panels, a red one in the centre and yellow ones at the sides. A small floating figure (Maenad?) adorns the right panel that also contains a large graffito of a ship. This painting belongs to the phase of construction and the painter followed the contemporary practice of real marble revetments where a similar use of vivid combinations of colours can be observed. On the small walls in front of the apse traces of similar red panels in the main zone are present in the corners next to the apse, whereas the remaining walls, like those of the shrine, have white panel decorations dating to two subsequent phases. As a whole, the long walls were much more modest in their presentation. The two layers of later paint, a Severan over a late Antonine mural, only show small changes.⁹³ The first shrine-related layer has five very broad panels on each long wall with altering vignettes and horizontal braces. The central panel shows a pediment and a thyrsos suspended from a garland. The colours used are red, green and yellow. The same colours were chosen in the last phase, when the decorator(s) made white panels with frames of double green lines and a red band, between which flowers and festoons can be seen. Other figural motifs are lacking. The floor has a white mosaic in *opus tessellatum* showing a burning altar in front of the real altar and served as an attention focusing device.

The *sacellum* has been defined as a Mithraeum but the decoration shows no reference to Mithras and thus this interpretation is extremely dubious. The altar in mosaic and the beds along the long walls are the only elements that might be cultic. The tympanum and thyrsos refer to Dionysus but also form part of the standard decorative repertoire and are thus not conclusive. Nevertheless, the building appears to have had a religious function.⁹⁴

⁹³ Liedtke 2002, 48-52.

⁹⁴ Already doubts in Becatti 1954, 69-75 and Bakker 1994, 114 note 28. Bollmann 1998, 443-446 clearly summarises the

discussion and I find her conclusions convincing. Similarly Steuernagel 2004, 188 note 946. Charles-Laforge 2006, 180-181 suggests that here was a shrine for Sabazios.

Fig. 98 Ostia, *Sacellum* of the Three Aisles, back wall (photo S.T.A.M. Mols). For a colour version of this figure, see page 257.



Rieger offers a clear summary of Mithrea in Ostia. She interprets the numerous shrines as an expression of the wish to withdraw with some companions from the hectic and tumultuous life in a busy harbour city. The various *collegia*, including those dedicated to Mithras, guaranteed a moment of relaxation and spiritual rest in their closed houses – a function which had less to do with real ‘mysteries’ and more to do with the search for intimacy.⁹⁵ Most of them were installed in existing buildings and paintings and mosaics identify rooms as shrines for Mithras.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Rieger 2004, 254-256. On the *collegia* Bollmann 1998; Rieger 2004, 27-30; Pensabene 2007, 343-344.

⁹⁶ Steuernagel 2004, 108.



Fig. 99 Ostia, *Sacellum* of the Three Aisles (photo S.T.A.M. Mols). For a colour version of this figure, see page 257.

OTHER MITHRAEA IN ITALY

The Mithraeum of Ponza provides the only example of a cult niche adorned with a stucco relief outside of Rome. The now lost Mithras *tauroctonos* was executed in this technique, as were other iconographic elements in this *sanctum*, namely Sol and Luna, Cautes and Cautopates. There is a peculiar zodiac on the vault of the room. Vermaseren tentatively dates the monument to the third century AD, noting the lack of concrete data.⁹⁷ In his monograph he addresses at length the importance of the zodiac signs within the cult. For the purposes of the current discussion it is sufficient to note that all preserved elements strongly pertain to Mithraism.

There are many references to the cult members and ministers visible in the well-preserved Mithraeum in old Capua, nowadays S. Maria di Capua Vetere.⁹⁸ Vermaseren dedicated a slim monograph to this monument, from which we may recall the most important aspects. The vault was covered with a painted, starred sky. The stucco contains pieces of glass to enhance the effect of brilliant stars. The back wall shows the killing of the bull, whereas the couches along the side walls have images of the various grades or ranks of cult members (fig. 100). These paintings were most likely applied around 170-180 AD (see p. 164).⁹⁹

The Mithraeum of Marino was constructed and decorated some 20-30 years later.¹⁰⁰ Again, a painted Mithras *tauroctonos* dominates the back wall (fig. 101). He is surrounded by circle-shaped cycles of the zodiac and

⁹⁷ Vermaseren 1974. Meyboom 1982, 45 suggests 200. See also Beck 2006, 109.

⁹⁸ Vermaseren 1971; Hijmans 2009, 291 n. E5-1.

⁹⁹ Meyboom 1982, 44.

¹⁰⁰ Vermaseren 1982, *passim*, pls. XI-XIX; Hijmans 2009, 292 n. E5-6. Cf. Devoti 1994. Here p. 164.

Fig. 100 Capua, Mithraeum (after Vermaseren 1971, pl. 2).



the Life of Mithras in a style that one mainly encounters in the northern provinces on sandstone or limestone reliefs. Meyboom dates the paintings to c.AD 200 (see p. 164), which might be correct. Neither he nor Vermaseren could definitively connect this construction with the presence of the *Legio II Parthica* at Marino, which is dated to the year 193.¹⁰¹

The Mithraeum of Spoleto was discovered as early as 1878 and partly excavated afterwards. Remains are no longer visible but the couches apparently contained depictions of the planetary deities, probably similar to the zodiac elsewhere in Mithraea. However, zodiac scenes are not normally found on couches. The figures might have instead showed initiates and some elements could perhaps have been confused with zodiac signs.¹⁰²

The only Mithraeum known from Sicily up to now was found in Syracuse in the area of S. Lucia but it is now lost.¹⁰³ On the side walls hunting scenes must have been present as well as red flowers. The latter probably belong to the well-known category of strewn flowers filling the surface of vaults. The former are unique in Mithras' iconography, unless we connect them with the god himself and compare them to the hunt in the Mithraeum in Dura Europos (fig. 102).

MITHRAEA ACROSS THE ALPS

Mithraea in military sites in the northern provinces are connected with the spread of the cult by the troops. However, some *spelaea* situated in urban contexts are also known.

In 1915 Robert Forrer published an excellent study of the excavation of a Mithraeum in Strasbourg.¹⁰⁴ He found traces of wall paintings adorning the inner walls, which unfortunately were not studied by him or others in further detail. The few pieces illustrated by Forrer show remains of panels with striped frames lacking figural elements. These fragments should belong to both the adornment of walls and long barrel vault. Forrer documented

¹⁰¹ Vermaseren 1982, 19; Meyboom 1982, 45. For the Legion see DNP 7 (1999) 15.

¹⁰² Vermaseren 1956, 247-248.

¹⁰³ Wilson 1990, 301.

¹⁰⁴ Forrer 1915, 27-28, fig. 10 (paintings).



Fig. 101 Marino, Mithraeum, bull attacked by dog and snake (after Vermaseren 1982, pl. 1).

the colours of the relief sculpture of Mithras *tauroctonos* and there are two interesting tablets with inscriptions by a certain C. Celsinius Matutinus informing the reader that he repainted (*repinxit*) the *typus* of the god.¹⁰⁵ The text also shows that the building and its many statues and reliefs were renovated in the time of Alexander Severus. The paintings, therefore, should be attributed to this phase.

In Germany painted Mithraic shrines are found in Mainz and (already mentioned) Oberflorstadt, but the scant fragments do not permit a reconstruction of the interior decoration.¹⁰⁶ A recently unearthed Mithraeum in Königsbrunn in ancient Raetia, not far from Augsburg, had several rooms. Thus far a simple white panel decoration from the central room R4 can be reconstructed and it is likely that it belonged to the side walls; no figural motifs showing Mithras or his entourage have yet been found in this second century AD complex.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Forrer 1915, 69-73, pl. XXV.

¹⁰⁶ Gogräfe 1999, 218. The remains are discussed on pp. 397-398, cat. 372, fig. 289 (Mainz, Mithraeum in Ballplatz, not dated) and pp. 314-315, cat. 157 (Oberflorstadt; not dated). Nothing can be said about the decorations of the 'third Mithraeum' and the 'first Mithraeum' in Frankfurt-Heddernheim (Gogräfe 1999, 327-328, cat.185; 209, cat. 209). As to

the Mainz Mithraeum, R. Gogräfe reports in a letter from 8 September 2005 that a complete publication of the complex is being prepared by Ingeborg Zetsche; she will, however, not offer any new insights on decoration.

¹⁰⁷ Willburger 2004, 104-105, fig. 47 (with bibliography). It is building 5, measuring 9.80 x 9.10 m.

The remains of a Mithraeum in Martigny (VS), discovered in 1993, have no counterparts in Switzerland. The building explored by François Wibl  was designed according to the usual rules and possessed a painted barrel vault showing a starred sky. This belongs to its first phase, dated to the late second century AD on the basis of the archaeological context.¹⁰⁸ Numerous plaster fragments belong to a second, Severan ceiling decoration that consisted of a central lozenge and rectangular fields intermingled with festoons. One of these smaller fields contains a running dog on the right and another shows a hare. Friezes with polyedric panels, mostly filled with imitations of marble plaques, can be reconstructed on the vault's lower sides. Fake marble veneer, fragments of representations of the Sun, the Moon and stars have been identified on the walls. The decoration seems to have remained simple so as not to interfere with the bronze relief of a *taurobolium*.

The Mithraeum in the military encampment of Aquincum (Budapest) possessed a relief of Mithras *tauroctonos* on the rear wall surrounded by an extended series of small scenes showing the life of the god. The side walls, in contrast, were rather simple and were not the work of an experienced decorator. A dedicatory inscription dates the complex to 201-202. Similar decorations have been found in Virunum.¹⁰⁹

Almost nothing has been preserved from the Mithraeum of Badajoz in Spain,¹¹⁰ but the excavation reports record traces of red and black surfaces in the lower zone of the cult room's walls. The identification of the shrine is based on the discovery of statues and inscriptions related to the cult. The scant remains do not allow for a precise chronology.

MITHRAEA IN THE EAST: HUARTE, DURA EUROPOS AND CAESAREA

There are several Mithraea in Syria but the ones in Huarte and Dura Europos stand out for their extremely rich decorations.¹¹¹ The one in Dura, on the Euphrates, was founded by Palmyrene archers, as we know from two cult reliefs from AD 168-169 and 170-171, i.e. shortly after the arrival of these Roman troops. The cult room is the same as in other Mithraea because of the use of the canonical iconography.¹¹² The cult niche possessed a relief of Mithras *tauroctonos* and its arch was adorned by paintings showing the life of the god in thirteen episodes. The vault contains twelve images of the zodiac. Finally, two magicians were depicted on the wall pilasters of the *arcosolium* and the relief's motif was repeated on top. The walls of the *adytum*, in front of the cult niche, show Mithras during a hunt, a rare motif in the Mithras iconography (fig. 102). The walls above the beds contained depictions of worshippers. The vault was decorated with a starry sky.

Franz Cumont distinguished three phases in both the construction and the decoration of the sanctuary. The first is that of the sculpted reliefs, AD 168, the second one is to be dated to the period of Caracalla, thanks to a dedicatory inscription, and is known from fragments that show a more colourful palette than the second set of decorations applied in the third phase, shortly before AD 250. These rather simple scenes, composed with few colours, bear the signature of a certain Mareos. The figures are roughly drawn and colour accents enliven the features. Their importance does not lie in their scant quality but the iconographical abundance. The same is true for the modest sculptures from the first phase found in the cult room. Cumont suggested that the paintings had been executed by a local member of the cult, but the translator of Cumont's text rightly notes that the

¹⁰⁸ Wibl  1993; 1995. Find reported in *JbSchwUrgesch* 77 (1994) 203-204; Dubois and Fuch 2004.

¹⁰⁹ Madarassy 1991. Some technical observations about the restoration are given by Istv n B na in Borhy 2004, 300.

¹¹⁰ Abad Casal 1982, cat. Ba 1.7.

¹¹¹ See various contributions in *Topoi(Lyon)* 11.1, 2001.

¹¹² Block J7. Rostovtzeff, Brown and Wells 1939, 62-134; Perkins 1973, 49-52; Cumont 1975 with pls. 21-30, whose text

is an English translation of a French manuscript of 1947, edited and actualised by E.D. Francis. See also Dirven 1999, 260-272; pls. VIII-IX; Elsner 2001, 278-280; Gordon 2001, 90-91; Leriche 2001; Dirven 2004, 13-16, pls. 5-6; Sommer 2005, 332-334; Beck 2006, 111, 141; Hijmans 2009, 291 n. E5-4. Briefly mentioned in Balty 1989, 528 and Elsner 1998, 213-214 fig. 140. The paintings are in the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts, New Haven.



Fig. 102 Dura Europos, Mithraeum, side wall, hunt of Mithras (photo L. Dirven). For a colour version of this figure, see page 258.

painter might have come from elsewhere.¹¹³ However, Cumont's idea should not be dismissed.¹¹⁴ Two peculiar touches within the traditional repertoire are the hunt of Mithras and portraits with inscribed names of the cult members,¹¹⁵ the latter are also present in the Mithraeum of the Painted Walls in Ostia. For Jaś Elsner, this set of murals, like those in the other sanctuaries of Dura Europos should be seen as an expression of 'cultural resistance' (see Chapter 8).

The Huarte Mithraeum shows a similar richness in figural scenes, as we know from Polish studies carried out in the late 1990s by Michał Gawlikowski in this village 15 km north of Apameia. The cult room has been preserved admirably well under an early Christian church dating to the 480s.¹¹⁶ The Mithraeum must have been used until the late fourth century and at least two phases can be identified.¹¹⁷ The earliest has some remains of monochrome preparatory painting in the cult niche in the rear wall, meant to be a fond for a relief of a *taurobolium* (lost or taken away by worshippers). The figural scenes described below date to the middle of the fourth century. This chronology makes the monument the latest Mithraeum recorded hitherto in the Empire.

The entrance room has a guardian lion on the wall in front of the entrance, whereas the outer room contains two riders flanking the entrance to the shrine itself and, on the northern wall, a pair of two symmetrical lions devouring black men. A nude, small black man with two heads is sitting at the feet of the preserved rider, who wears a richly coloured Persian dress and may be Mithras himself (fig. 103). The godly twins Castor and Pollux would not fit within this repertoire. The small man's hands are chained. These scenes are unique in a Mithraic setting. Rather improbably, Robert Turcan sees the small nude bicephalous man as Sol, similar to the submissive

¹¹³ E.D. Francis in Cumont 1975, 169-170, note 104.

¹¹⁴ Cf. a similar reasoning about the paintings in the sacrum of the Temple of Isis in Pompeii, here pp. 162.

¹¹⁵ Dirven 2004, 14, pl. 6. Dirven explains the group on the late relief as a type of family. This is normally found in Palmyrene temples, where it stresses the importance of family clans. We might apply this explanation to the painted figures.

¹¹⁶ This is the name used in the Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World, map 68, but it is also called Hawarte or Hawarti. Gawlikowski 2000; 2001; Gordon 2001; Chabiera,

Paradowska and Trochimowicz 2004; Gawlikowski 2007. Briefly mentioned in Butcher 2003, 325, 326. See also M. Gawlikowski, *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 10 (1999) 197-204; 11 (2000) 261-271; 12 (2001) 309-314; 13 (2002) 271-278; 15 (2003) 325-334. Michał Gawlikowski has been so kind to provide some photographs and corrections to the text.

¹¹⁷ Gawlikowski 2000, 165 even mentions six layers of painting. Gawlikowski 2007, 350 and 352 mentions five layers (see his fig. 10).



Fig. 103 Huarte, Mithraeum, north wall of anteroom, Persian rider (Mithras?) with black Siamese twins (photo M. Gawlikowski). For a colour version of this figure, see page 258.

figure in Caesarea (see *infra*), showing his servant status to Mithras.¹¹⁸ Both scenes might refer to the taming or even destruction of evil by the riders and the lions respectively.¹¹⁹

The grotto's walls are decorated with a rich iconography above a dado filled in with representations of fences.¹²⁰ Next to the northern post of the entrance stands Cautopates and we may assume Cautes' presence at on other side, where nothing has preserved. Two unique scenes were discovered in the northwestern corner. On the left wall there are elements of a banquet referring to Mithras. The scene to the left of the cult niche on the north wall comprises a city wall with an arched entrance above which there are hairy male monsters' heads (fig. 104). One of them has apparently fallen down and lies on the ground. All are touched by light beams, maybe the rays of Mithras himself. This should be the 'City of Darkness'.¹²¹ On the other side of the niche there is a painted episode of the Gigantomachy featuring Zeus and two giants. This god is also the first figure on the

¹¹⁸ Comment by Robert Turcan in Gawlikowski 2000, 170-171. On these scenes see Gawlikowski 2007, 353-354, figs. 9-10. Lucinda Dirven (pers. comm.) suggested that the small person might be two men. According to her, such an image would match the iconographic tradition of the Middle East. The images, however, clearly show Siamese twins with one body, two legs, two arms and two heads.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Gordon 2001, 114.

¹²⁰ Chabiera, Parandowska and Trochimowicz 2004, 322 and Galikowski 2007, 355 describe the decoration of the dado as 'geometric patterns', but see the clear three-dimensional forms in Gawlikowski 2007, figs. 8, 14a, 15.

¹²¹ Gawlikowski 2000, 167, fig. 4: "Cité des Ténèbres"; Gordon 2001, 106-109; Galikowski 2007, 355, fig. 12.

Fig. 104 Huarte, Mithraeum, north wall of Mithras room, city wall with hairy heads (photo M. Gawlikowski). For a colour version of this figure, see page 258.



long eastern wall. The excavators explain this myth as a phase prior to Mithras' birth referring to the creation of earth.¹²² Mithras' life continues on the east wall, he is born out of the rock and probably also a cypress. Helios flanks a bull-carrying Mithras. The central scene shows the *taurobolium*, whereas underneath the symbols of the seven grades are painted on a white panel. To its right Helios worships Mithras who carries an arrow (fig. 105). The southern wall, opposite the cult niche, shows a hunt similar to the one in Dura Europos (fig. 102) and some animals are still visible. The ceiling has traces of vines and birds (including a peacock). Most of the remains from this area, including walls, are now lost. An inscription mentions a charioteers' race:¹²³

[Νικᾷ ἡ] Τύχη [τοῦ ἀνικ]ήτου Μείθρα.
May the Fortune of the invincible Mithras win.

Undoubtedly, this Mithraeum is exceptional for its iconographic richness and, based on the published photographs, the pictorial quality of the several elements. Two main themes dominate the iconography: the life of Mithras and the struggle of good against evil or light against darkness.¹²⁴

Finally, the painted interior of the Mithraeum in Caesarea Maritima must be mentioned. This was discovered in the foundations of a warehouse in field C. Having a sturdy barrel vault, the room was preserved rather well. The vault is covered with the representation of a starry sky, whereas the walls contain scenes from the life of Mithras and cult members. The three scenes having Mithras' life on the side walls have Mithras kneeling in front of Sol, Mithras shaking hands with Sol and Mithras riding on a bull to Oceanus or Saturnus. The images are framed by trees which look like cypresses. A Mithras *tauroctonos* on the east wall is now lost.¹²⁵ According to the excavators the installation of Mithras' shrine should be dated to the end of the first century AD, making

¹²² Gawlikowski 2007, 355-356, fig. 13.

¹²³ Gawlikowski 2007, 360. Gawlikowski informs me in a personal communication that he does not believe in a reference to a real chariot race.

¹²⁴ Gawlikowski 2007, 360-361 suggests further research and

alternative interpretations.

¹²⁵ Gordon 2001, 78-82, figs. 2-4; Richardson 2002, 118. Extensively Holum 1988, 148-153, figs. 105-107 (with references).

Fig. 105 Huarte, Mithraeum, north wall of Mithras room, Helios worshipping Mithras (photo M. Gawlikowski).



it the oldest known Mithraeum, but Israel Roll has argued that this Mithraeum would rather date to the third century.¹²⁶

A PRIVATE SHRINE TO SABAZIOS IN POMPEII

Another exotic god venerated at Pompeii is the Phrygian Sabazios. The nature of the cult is not thoroughly known and it is also unclear exactly how the cult room in Pompeii functioned.¹²⁷ The interpretation of the complex is based on the find of two typical bronze ‘magic hands’ and two peculiar terracotta pots with appliques showing animals, Hermes’ caduceus and an *Agathos daimon*. Other objects that support this hypothesis are bronze snakes and a marble head of Jupiter-Ammon.¹²⁸ Roughly painted deities can be seen on the building’s façade. These are Aphrodite Anadyomene with Amor and a dolphin on the left side of the door and Dionysos and Hermes on the right side. Two Priapoi adorn the pilasters at the inner sides of the fauces. A large altar in the house’s peristyle would have been used for sacrifices. At the northern side of the peristyle a large room opens onto the garden. It has a high podium (too high to be a couch) at the back. Its antae have graffiti and paintings. The left pilaster bears the word *antrum* and the name of a certain Sextilius Pyrricus, whereas the other anta shows a dancing nude person and a Demotic inscription to be translated as “he who is devoted to the god Thot”.¹²⁹ The scanty remains of the paintings in the interior of this ‘grotto’ are in the Fourth Style. Rossella Pace,

¹²⁶ Roll 1977. Reference kindly provided by Michał Gawlikowski.

¹²⁷ II 1, 12, ‘Complex of the magical rites’. See Jashemski 1979, 135-137; De Vos and De Vos 1982, 136; M. de Vos, *PPM* III (1991) 19-41; Fröhlich 1991, 312 cat. F16, pl. 54.1-2; Jashemski 1993, 76 no. 131; Turcan 1993, 501-503; Pace 1997; Krzysowska 2002, 215-220, figs. 40-41; Charles-Laforge 2006; Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006a, 137-138; Van Andringa 2009, 331-337, figs. 249, 251-252. All paintings mentioned have been removed. The depictions of Venus and Mercury can be seen in the *schola armaturarum* (last observed by the author in the summer of 2005; build-

ing collapsed in Fall 2010). On the cult S.A. Takács, Sabazios, *DNP* 10 (2001) 1180-82, with references to late antique depictions of cult scenes in the Catacombs of Praetextatus in Rome.

¹²⁸ These objects have been found in two small side rooms. See Krzysowska 2002, 216-219, fig. 41; Charles-Deforge 2006, 166-168, 170-172, fig. 6-7.

¹²⁹ *CIL* IV 10104g has the Latin rendition: *Is qui deo Thot addictus est*. See Krzysowska 2002, 216. Charles-Laforge 2006, 165-166, omits the Egyptian text.

following Turcan, outlines the possible uses of this room. Dances might have been performed on the podium and Sextilius could have been a dancer of the *pyrrhiche*.¹³⁰ Another important room within the complex is a triclinium to the left of the entrance used for ritual meals prepared in one of the two kitchens on the premises. Its murals illustrate the room's function as a banqueting hall and consist of black panels with large still lifes which display some of the food which was eaten. The decoration is dated to the first decades of the first century AD and belongs to the last phase of the Third Style. Other rooms have panel paintings in the Fourth Style and there are even some traces of a First Style decoration. Pace makes clear that around 62 radical changes were made in the complex that was subsequently transformed into the shrine. The podium was inserted in the room next to the peristyle and the house probably lost its function as a private dwelling.

Concerning our subject, we must conclude that the peculiarity of the cult is in no way reflected in the mural decorations. Iconographic hints are lacking in the preserved murals, apart from the images of food in the triclinium, where birds can also be seen in the dado. The remaining figures are the deities on the outer wall of the house who potentially are the only figures which indicate the presence of a sanctuary. This sort of mural must have been much more frequent throughout Pompeii. Many façade decorations were lost during or after the excavations and we cannot precisely identify their meaning.¹³¹ The combination of Aphrodite, Hermes and Dionysos is also known from other houses.¹³² Priapos is the son of Aphrodite and Dionysos. By themselves, the gods do not specifically point to a household shrine but the combination of these five figures might have been a signifier for cult members. At first sight, these gods have little in common with Sabazios but there are certain points of correspondence, for example Hermes' caduceus in the magic hand, his scales and Dionysos' grapes on the vases.¹³³ Priapos' fertility and apotropaic forces are also found in the Sabazios iconography. Nevertheless, the presence of the small sanctuary is confirmed by the sacred objects and the altar in the garden and we must not exclude the possibility that a private owner offered his house for religious functions.¹³⁴ In this respect, the house does not differ from the collective buildings used by many communities throughout the imperial period (*Vereinshäuser*, see p. 119). Finally, the shrine's location is important. Turcan points to a connection with a specific group of worshippers, namely gladiators. As a matter of fact, the house lies between the amphitheatre and the *Schola armaturarum*.¹³⁵

OTHER SHRINES FOR 'SMALL' CULTS

The shrine of Jupiter Heliopolitanus on the eastern slope of the Janiculum, also erected by a cult group, was the subject of various studies from the late nineteenth century onwards. While the marble and sculptural decorative elements received plenty of attention, little was published about the scant remains of paintings in the two cellae. The excavator A. Pasqui noted remains of painted plaster in various colours and with traces of figures in Egyp-

¹³⁰ Turcan 1993; Pace 1997, 87-89. B. Amadio, *RStPomp* 2 (1988) 194, sees this room as a ritual room on the basis of the cult objects found and the cella and the favissa. See Turcan 1993; Pace 1997, 87-89.

¹³¹ On façade paintings see Fröhlich 1991. Turcan 1993, 502-505 gives possible hints and connects the gods with Sabazios. As the house was a space for "sciences occultes (et donc condamnées par la loi romaine)" the façade's images may be deliberately vague in order to conceal the house's real purpose. Krzyszkowska 2002, 219-220 rightly questions Turcan's allusions to orgiastic rituals. The cult house might have been

rather 'normal', being situated within a popular quarter.

¹³² The example in Krzyszkowska (2002, 208-209) is VI 14, 28, but these are figural scenes within a shop, not on a façade (PPM V, 1994, 344-349).

¹³³ Krzyszkowska 2002, 218: syncretism of Sabazios and Mercury.

¹³⁴ Pace 1997, 91 makes clear that in the last phase the building could no longer have served as a private house. The same opinion is expressed in Charles-Laforge 2006.

¹³⁵ Turcan 1993, 506-508. But cf. note 133.

tian style.¹³⁶ The decorations should be dated to the phase of construction in the second century AD.¹³⁷ These poor remains, no longer visible, do not have the required elements for the proposed oriental cults.¹³⁸

No longer visible are substantial remains of a sanctuary dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine. It was excavated in 1935 by Antonio Maria Colini and immediately backfilled after exploration.¹³⁹ Only the lower parts of the wall structures and a large number of statues, reliefs and other objects were found. More recent excavations uncovered houses under and at the back of the building.¹⁴⁰ The shrine had three rooms. The niches at the northern side of the entrance room B had plaster coverings and marble revetment. The central room (A), which functioned as the *triclinium* or *cenatorium* for sacral meals, had a painted decoration. This consisted of a red dado with leaf motifs, whereas the main zone was covered with imitations of marble slabs. The adjacent room C was also decorated with paintings and red murals. As to the floors a simple white mosaic in *opus tessellatum* is reported in room A, tiles were found in room C. The little information gathered from the various reports does not point to any paintings or sculptural decoration linked with the cult of this eastern god. Other gods were also present, emphasizing the syncretic nature of Jupiter from Doliche. The shrine was installed within an existing early second century *domus* from the era of Antoninus Pius. It was restored at the end of that same century or at the beginning of the third century and remained in use until the Constantine period. The monument is the *Dolocenum* mentioned in the catalogue of the *Regionarii* and was not far from the Baths of Decius.

Herakles was worshipped in many places in Rome. A small *sacellum*, excavated in 1889 on the slope of Monteverde during works for the construction of the Trastevere station (near modern-day Porta Portese), was immediately destroyed during these rough explorations. It must have had a colourful interior of yellow flowers spread over a red surface in the cult niche and birds and flowers of various colours on a yellow layer on the outer wall. These finds are briefly reported by the excavator Domenico Marchetti.¹⁴¹ An inscription on the lintel of the cult niche names the painter or the patron: *L. Domitius Permissus fecit*.

Herakles was venerated here as *Hercules Cubans*, as the excavators deduced from a record in the *Regionarii* lists, whilst the cult of Dionysos was also important. The decorations strengthen this assumption. Leila Nista dates the complex to the first century BC and it remained in use until circa AD 200. These dates are confirmed by the sculptures and inscriptions. Nista does not date this rustic shrine, but the *Streublumen* pattern is common during the second and third centuries AD and, since it was applied on the outer wall and thus subject to the elements, it would not have lasted very long. Therefore, I suggest that the paintings belong to a late phase, possibly the fourth century, shortly before the end of the shrine's existence.

¹³⁶ A. Pasqui, *NSc* 1909, 393. The courtyard's walls apparently had traces of a preparatory layer (p. 394). No mention of decorations in Nicole and Darier 1909, 3-86. J. Calzini Gysens in Mele 1982, 66 adds the presence of fragments showing floral elements found in the apse. Versluys 2002 does not mention the 'Egyptian' figures.

¹³⁷ J. Calzini Gysens, *LTUR* III (1996) 139-143 (with bibl.), citation on paintings p. 140, and L. Nista in *Aurea Roma* 2001, 298-300.

¹³⁸ R. Meneghini in Mele 1982, 51. This booklet contains a good overview of the various opinions regarding the shrine, to which may be added the bibliography in Calzini Gysens (see note 137).

¹³⁹ Colini 1936 [almost nothing on paintings]; P. Chini, *LTUR* III (1996) 133-134 s.v. Iuppiter Dolichenus, Templum (with

bibliography; no mention of paintings). P. Chini, in *Aurea Roma* 2001, 288-294, provides the essential information, but little is known about the paintings. In the same volume S. Ensoli presents some of the sculptural finds, now in the Capitoline Museums: *Aurea Roma* 2001, 526-530 cat. nos. 166-172.

¹⁴⁰ See P. Chini, in D. Scagliarini Corlaita (ed.), *I temi figurativi nella pittura parietale antica (IV sec. a.C.-IV sec.d.C.)*. *Atti del VI Convegno Internazionale sulla Pittura Parietale Antica*, Bologna, 185-187.

¹⁴¹ D. Marchetti, *NSc* 1889, 243-247, esp. p. 244 (illustration). See Nista 1991, 9-13; L. Nista, *LTUR* III (1996) 12-13. The image from *NSc* is reproduced in Hülsen 1891, 149-150 (also a plan), Nash I, 462 and Nista 1991, 8.

An extremely modest private *sacellum* gave its name to the 'Caseggiato del sacello' in Ostia.¹⁴² It is a rectangular room with a barrel vault in the inner part and a groined vault in the front. Two bases are in the corners at the back. The walls were covered with plaster on which almost no traces of paint can be seen. The barrel vault shows remains of a stucco decoration containing lacunars. The lower row is completely preserved but only traces of the second remain, including from left to right, a yellow rectangle, a red medallion and another yellow rectangle. Sculptures found during excavation include a terracotta statue of a seated goddess, identified as Fortuna. These scant remains do not reveal the building's function. The interpretation as a small shrine is based on the Fortuna. In terms of dates, Jan Theo Bakker suggests that the remains visible today might date to the time of Commodus or the Severi.

In the entrance room of the Ostian Caseggiato of Sarapis there is a small shrine dedicated to this god. As the building has a public character, being a bath house, it should be mentioned here, although it is not a proper sanctuary but a *lararium*. The god is depicted in a stucco relief seated on a throne and holding a sceptre in his left hand. The god's iconography is typical. The shrine would have served visitors of the baths on entering the building and might have also promoted the cult of the popular Egyptian god. Bakker, Mols and Patrizio Pensabene stress his importance and popularity at the time of Septimius Severus, the time when the niche was constructed within the existing complex.¹⁴³

CONCLUSIONS

The monuments discussed in this chapter all date to the Imperial period. Apart from the Temple of Isis in Pompeii, which seems to date to the early first century BC and flourished from the Augustan period onwards, they were constructed during the second and third centuries, with some exceptions dating to the first and even the fourth centuries AD. The buildings were not only houses for the gods but also the houses of the worshippers. The altar was located either outside or inside. The sanctuaries' outer appearance is modest, unlike classical Greek and Roman temples, and does not reveal what happened inside.

The Greco-Roman cult of Isis became immensely popular during the imperial period and its roots date to the Hellenistic era. Few monuments contain painted interiors, although known examples are very interesting. The Temple of Isis in Pompeii is an extraordinary example of lavish painted decoration in a mix of Roman and local architecture. I have tried to show that we must distinguish two ways of representing the cult of Isis in the AD 62-79 shrine. The first is a 'Pompeian' fashion, with Fourth-Style paintings executed by masters who worked in other buildings in the city from that period and in which the Egyptian characteristics are integrated in an ideal compromise. Secondly there are the less sophisticated scenes of purely Egyptian motifs in side rooms only used by specialists. However, these also include Roman elements, for example the *lararium* is arranged in a Roman manner. The other Isea are much more problematic due to the scant remains and it is therefore impossible to draw overarching conclusions.

The architecture, interior decoration and furnishings of Mithraea are strictly connected with the cult and its appropriate rituals. Visitors would immediately understand their surroundings, partly because they were members of the cult but also because of the highly standardised cultic and decorative elements. The painted iconography illustrates the gifts of the god, namely a rich landscape and vegetation, and elements of the cult's procedures such as the degrees of initiation and membership.¹⁴⁴ The iconography of paintings, mosaics and

¹⁴² IV v, 4. Pavolini 1983, 184; Bakker 1994, 37, 101-102, 188, 190, 233-234 cat. 75, pls 67-69; Pavolini 2006, 193; Pensabene 2007, 572-573.

¹⁴³ Bakker 1994, 89-90, 93, 185, 225-226 cat. 52 (with previous bibliography), figs. 12-13; Mols 1999b, 251, 261, 264-267, fig. 2; Mols 2007, 229, fig. 2; Pensabene 2007, 318-319.

¹⁴⁴ The notion of degrees of initiation might be a classification of the member corresponding to their function within the community and their social status. The existence of initiation rites has not been proven: Rieger 2004, 255 and her note 1242 on p. 254 on the initiation theory.

sculptural elements is homogeneous and in this sense the Mithraea are unique. There was a preference for certain themes in relief sculpture, but few differences can be observed in painting and mosaics. Even if we do not possess a thorough knowledge of the actual rituals, the images help us understand the various statuses of the members and of the life of Mithras. One may wonder if the painters' names in Strasbourg and Dura show that paintings were made by cult members, as in the *sacrarium* of the Temple of Isis in Pompeii. The cult's secretive nature probably forbade non-members from learning about the decorative themes and prevented their diffusion outside the cult. It is thus possible that paintings were made by initiates, which might explain their relative simplicity.¹⁴⁵ On the other hand, there are some qualitatively good examples, such as the paintings in Marino and Capua and the stucco relief under S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome. If we accept the confidentiality hypothesis, one should assume that these more affluent communities included a talented professional painter or stucco worker among their members. The same questions about craftsmen must also be raised in relation to all other elements, possibly excluding the masons but including the mosaic makers, the relief carvers, sculptors and the producers of other cult objects. In particular, the figural scenes required knowledge of the iconography of Mithras and his cult.

Lissi Caronna has pointed to the abundant use of various colours in the Mithraeum under S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome, both in the mural decorations and the statues. This love of colour can also be recognized in other locations and the inscription of Celsinius in Strasbourg monumentalises this preference of polychromy. The use of colour provided the opportunity to brighten up the darkness of the grotto in a cheerful way and promised a prosperous and abundant afterlife as prophesied by Mithras himself. The decorations in the Mithraea are almost always designed to emphasize the function of the rooms and the presence of the venerated god and his assistants. Marble veneers on the walls in real and painted forms and floor mosaics gave a certain degree of opulence to the otherwise modest rooms. Gardens, craters, flowers and birds belong to the natural surroundings of Mithras. Over the centuries this fashion did not change considerably, as far as we may deduce from the examples preserved. Decorative schemes and iconographic rules were transmitted from one generation to another and bear witness to a conservative attitude towards the cult rooms' interiors. Roger Beck has frequently argued that the Mithraeum was a blueprint of the universe.¹⁴⁶ If this is true, the wide range of themes represented would endorse this suggestion.

Finally, the Dura Europos and Huarte Mithraea in Syria deserve special mention because of their rich decoration. The Dura Europos *spelaeum* is less peculiar when compared to other richly decorated shrines for other gods in town. However, compared with Mithraea in the west, Dura Europos has more figural scenes. Huarte remains a remarkable case within its area and shows similarities to the Dura Mithraeum.

Finally, this chapter includes some spurious examples of non-Roman worship. Scant data do not allow for a sound chronology and conclusions but it appears that the decorative elements were related to cult. Figural elements were extremely important and showed gods and their entourage, making the room's cultic nature immediately clear to the visitor. The paucity of remains of shrines for Mithras, Isis and other non-Roman gods probably does not correspond to their popularity, but the modest nature of the cults and their worshippers, making long term preservation difficult.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ I accept some of the traditional notions of secrecy and think that communities were comprised of various classes, but in general I prefer the more cautious and less mystic interpretation of Rieger (2004, 254-256).

¹⁴⁶ Beck 2006, esp. 112: "image of the universe".

¹⁴⁷ The Temple of Sant'Abbondio in Pompeii, dedicated to

Dionysos by a type of guild, is a remarkable example of the latter tendency: a rather lavish building from the first half of the second century BC restyled after AD 62, when the exterior walls were completely whitewashed and the interior was simplified. See Bielefeld 2007, 225-336, 352-353, fig. 15.

8 Dura Europos: A Case Study

During the late Roman Empire, the city of Dura Europos possessed some extremely interesting examples of temple paintings. The painted rooms are located along the city wall on the town's land side. They were backfilled during the final years of Dura's existence, when the city defences had to be enlarged, thereby ensuring their preservation. Like the Mithraea in Dura itself and also in Rome and Ostia (see Chapter 7), the synagogue and the church are architecturally modest rooms integrated into existing houses and constructed of local materials.¹ The mudbrick walls are covered with lavish images which illustrate or emphasize the building's function. The decorations can be characterised as local products because of their style and their chronology is thus difficult to establish. The human figures stand in a frontal and stiff position and are set against a coloured background. The paintings lack the ordinary subdivision of walls into three horizontal and three or more vertical zones characteristic of Roman wall painting and are replaced by various panels in the form of friezes. Janine Balty argues that these murals neither constitute examples of real Roman painting, nor are they representative for the whole of Syria and are instead a unique example.²

The following discussion is based on excavation reports, the well-known monograph on the art of Dura Europos by Ann Perkins and overviews of Palmyrene art and painting by Balty and Nicole Kaminski-Gdalia. The more recent contributions to the discussion by Jaś Elsner, Lucinda Dirven and Michael Sommer considerably enhance our understanding of the decorations.³

BEL OR ALLAT?

I will start, however, with a rather recent find made during excavations in 1993. French archaeologists unearthed plaster fragments from the south wall (the only decorated one) in a small shrine along the main street (Block M5). After painstakingly lifting and preserving the pieces, Claudine Allag presented a partial reconstruction.⁴ Several persons were depicted on a white surface: two standing men in Parthian dress, a person wearing a helmet and another 30 cm painting of a human figure (fig. 106). The background was embellished with trees and garlands, many elements of which have been recovered. This means that the scene was located in the open air, possibly the temple's courtyard.⁵ The scene must represent one of the typical offerings found in Dura temples. The helmeted figure has a white complexion, which leads Allag to the hypothesis that she may represent a god-

¹ About the social implication and the growth of importance see White 1990, 40-44.

² Balty 1989, 525: "Mais – fait paradoxal – ces témoignages, tout nombreux qu'ils sont, ne viennent guère éclairer notre connaissance de la peinture proprement romaine de la Syrie. En effet, soumise au pouvoir des Parthes pendant près de trois siècles, Doura n'avait été romaine que peu de temps (moins de cent ans); aussi bien n'est-ce pas un art de tradition gréco-romaine que révèlent les documents conservés."

³ Rostovtzeff, Brown and Wells 1939; Perkins 1973, 33-69, pl. 10-28; Balty 1989; Kaminski-Gdalia 1995; Elsner 1998, 212-218; Dirven 1999; Elsner 2001; Dirven 2004; Sommer 2005, 329-354. I could not make use of the recent, very informative collective volume edited by Lisa Brody and Gail Hoffman (2011).

⁴ Allag 2004. See also Dirven 1999, 275-278.

⁵ Allag 2004, 109.



Fig. 106 Dura Europos, Temple in Block M5, helmeted head (photo C. Allag). For a colour version of this figure, see page 259.

dess, perhaps Athena Allat.⁶ The small person is a servant. Since the paintings were found next to the altar, the scene must originally have been located above it. Allag dates them to the early third century.⁷ In that time the wall was whitewashed and a cult for Bel, either next to Allat or as a new cult, was installed. It remains uncertain who was venerated here. It might still have been Bel, to whom a relief had been dedicated by ‘the son of Allat’, as we can read in a relief mounted above the altar and probably dating to 173-174. This relief must have been installed around 170 and remained on display after successive renovations.⁸

BEL AND ZEUS

The temple in Blocks J3 and J5 is known as the Temple of Bel or the Palmyrene Gods. In the Parthian period it was dedicated to Zeus and was dedicated to Bel and the Palmyrene gods after the arrival of the Palmyrenes.⁹ The complex dates from the middle of the first century AD and the cult room K was enlarged around 180 with a pronaos and embellished with new wall paintings. The oldest decorations, dated around AD 80, are the frag-

⁶ Allag 2004, 110. According to Dirven 1999, the person is male and represents an unidentified god.

⁷ Allag 2004, 112.

⁸ Dirven 1999, 275-278, pl. X; Rousselle 2004, 132, 146, fig. 1.

⁹ Dirven 1999, 295.

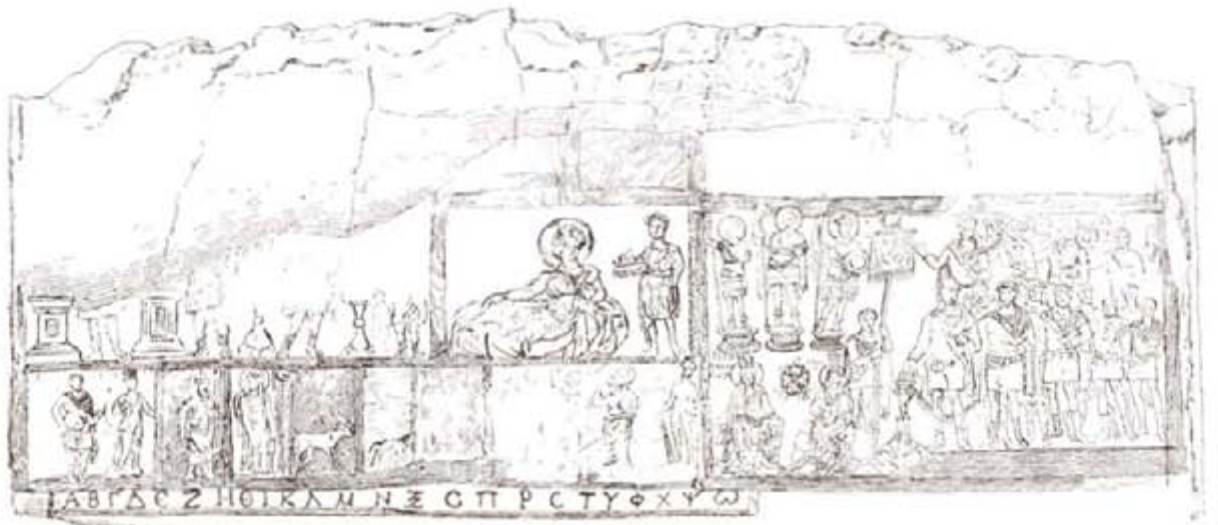


Fig. 107 Dura Europos, Temple of Bel, pronaos (from Cumont 1926, pl. XLIX).

mentarily preserved large figure on the back wall and the panel on the southern wall with an offering scene next to an incense burner and an altar interpreted as a purification ritual. One of the priests has his name written in Greek next to his head: Konon. He is accompanied by members of his family. The decorations on the south wall show colourful depictions of Palmyrene worshippers in two horizontal registers (the upper one is lost almost entirely). They are identified by painted labels as Lysias, son of Achieias, Lysias, son of Bargathes, Apollophanes, son of Athenodores, and his brother Zenodotes. The paintings have been signed by a certain Ilasamsos.¹⁰ Franz Cumont's dating to the late Antonine period relies on epigraphic data and is substantiated by the hairstyles of the painted persons.¹¹ Furthermore, there is the frequently discussed illustrated scene on the northern wall of the pronaos showing soldiers guided by the tribune Julius Terentius (fig. 107). All make an offering to three gods, mostly seen as the Palmyrene Trias Bel, Iarhibol and Aglibol, and the painting dates to around 240. These figures represent statues, probably small bronzes, standing on the typical round and convex bases of such figures venerated in house shrines. The *Tuchai* of Palmyra and Dura Europos are sitting in the lower register; they are depicted in the shape of well-known statuary types.¹² Following Cumont, Thomas Pékary argues that the three figures might be the emperors Pupienus, Balbinus and Gordianus III, a suggestion which has been accepted by Michel Reddé.¹³ That would imply a date between AD 238 and 243/244. The scene would be a combination of an honour guard and an offering made to the emperors. By this time it is likely that the building no longer functioned as a shrine.¹⁴ The halos around their heads suggest a divine status and thus implies dead and deified

¹⁰ Cumont 1926, 361-362 no 6.

¹¹ Cumont 1975. Pékary 1986, 96 gives a date of 70-100 as does Balty 1989; Dirven 1999, 298-318. See also Elsner 2001, 276-277; Allag 2004, 111, fig. 17. Dirven 2004, 9-12, pl. 3 implicitly dates the murals to the early second century on the basis of an inscription dated to AD 115. Elsner 1998, 213 fig. 139 dates them to the third century AD. Briefly mentioned in Butcher 2003, 325. See also Sommer 2005, 346-350.

¹² I.a. Pékary 1986 with bibl. and extensive discussion of

previous interpretations; M. Le Glay, *LIMC* I (1981) 299 no. 2 s.v. Aglibol; E. Will, *LIMC* III (1986) 99 no. 1 s.v. Bel; Moormann 1988, 100-101, cat. 013 with bibl. ; P. Linant de Bellefonds, *LIMC* V (1990) 695 no. 11 s.v. Iarhibol; Sommer 2005, 346-350. Dirven 1999, 306-307: Aglibol (with crescent), Iarhibol and Arsu.

¹³ Pékary 1986; Reddé 2004, 458-460, fig. 21.

¹⁴ Pékary 1986, 95; he does not say what its function was at this time, but one might guess a residence of the officer in charge.



Fig. 108 Dura Europos, Temple of Zeus Theos, fragment from one of the side walls with Bithnanaia, now depot at Yale (photo L. Dirven). For a colour version of this figure, see page 259.

emperors, a point which Pékary does not take into account. Pupienus and Balbinus died in 238 and were succeeded by Gordianus III who had been co-emperor (*caesar*) with these *augusti*. He died in AD 244 near Ctesiphon and has a cenotaph in Dura Europos.¹⁵ In sum, I follow the old interpretation, missing the correspondence with imperial iconography. The set of figures on the left side resembles a *lararium* and represents a group of Palmyrene gods. The decoration dates to the 230s and attests to the building's long use.¹⁶

Finally, paintings are also found in room 'K', a chapel situated in the northern corner of the courtyard's south side. The back wall of this room, the western one, contained an *aedicula* similar to the niche of the Torah in the Synagogue. Above it there was a painting showing the eunuch Otes during a sacrifice to five Palmyrene deities standing on globes.¹⁷ The gods are not identified by inscriptions but can be recognised by their costumes and attributes as Bel, Iarhibol, Aglibol, Arsu and a goddess, probably Allat. The painting dates to the beginning of the third century AD.

¹⁵ SHA *Gordianus* 34.2; Amm. 23.5.7.

¹⁶ On the chronology see also Allag 2004, 111-112. The paintings are in the National Museum of Damascus and the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts in New Haven. See Balty 1989, 526-528,

figs. 188-189.

¹⁷ Cumont 1926, 122-134, fig. 26, pls. LV-LVII; Perkins 1973, 45-47; M. Le Glay, *LIMC* I (1981) 298-299 no. 1 s.v. Aglibol (dating to 75 AD); Dirven 1999, 300-302.

ZEUS THEOS

Block B3 is occupied by the Temple of Zeus Theos, precisely dated to AD 114.¹⁸ Houses were renovated in order to build a large single room used as a temple. A painting of Zeus was located at the back of the naos behind the altar. Frank Brown's reconstruction shows Zeus in Iranian-Parthian dress holding a globe and a spear, while he is crowned by two Victories. On his left there are standing guards and the *Trias palmyrensis* whereas on his right there is a chariot with three horses. The painting is on a white background and lacks landscape or architectural elements. It should be noted that Brown's reconstruction is made up of elements from different contexts. The foot and leg in Parthian dress flanked by three pairs of small feet were found in the Temple of Bel and the heads of a Victory and a horse were found elsewhere in Block B3. The side walls can be reconstructed with more confidence. They were subdivided into three horizontal registers filled with three or four priests and worshippers per zone in Parthian attire, some of whom are making an offering.¹⁹

ADONIS

Little is known about the decoration of the Temple of Adonis in Block L5. Some fragments, now in Yale, show Adonis-Eshmun in Parthian dress standing on a globe or a block against a yellow background. He is surrounded by an arch, possibly a depiction of an aedicula. On the right two offering and two other men can be seen and there would have been other bystanders. The paintings decorated the first, southern *adyton* of the complex.²⁰ The figures measure some 115-120 cm, whereas the god is much smaller, painted to look like a statue or statuette within a shrine. Thanks to inscriptions the murals can be dated to the middle of the second century AD.²¹

GADDE

The Temple of the Gadde also yielded some paintings.²² Some pieces adorning naos 2b date to Period III. These show worshippers, measuring some 95 cm, surrounding a god clad in military attire and possibly date to the late first century AD. Pronaos 2 has murals from Period IV, dated to the beginning of the third century. The small fragments include heads of figures, about one third life-size, seen as representations of Ba'al Shamin and Malakbel. We may conclude that all these fragments belong to figural scenes mainly showing rows of gods and their worshippers.

¹⁸ Rostovtzeff, Brown and Wells 1939, 180-217, esp. 196-210, fig. 50, pl. XXI-XXV; Perkins 1973, 47-49; Elsner 2001, 277; Dirven 2004, 9, fig. 2; Sommer 2005, 280-281.

¹⁹ I was warned by Lucinda Dirven about Brown's problematic reconstruction which is unfortunately widely accepted. See as an example *LIMC* VIII (1997) 386 no. 160 (with illustration and bibliography).

²⁰ Rostovtzeff, Brown and Wells 1939, 135-179, esp. 158-163, fig. 44, pl. XIX-XX; Sommer 2005, 288-289. Sommer notes

that Adonis is standing on a block but it might also be interpreted as a globe (p. 158). Adonis also in *LIMC* I (1981) 227 no. 2 (Iranian dress; dating: AD 150-160).

²¹ Rostovtzeff, Brown and Wells 1939, 152-153, 162-163: contemporaneous with the now lost Otes painting in the Temple of Bel and Zeus.

²² Block H1. Rostovtzeff, Brown and Wells 1939, 218-283, esp. 269-274, fig. 72, pl. XXVI-XXVIII; Dirven 1999, 222-26.



Fig. 109 Dura Europos, Synagogue west (back) and north walls (photo L. Dirven). For a colour version of this figure, see page 259.

THE SYNAGOGUE

The paintings in the synagogue belong to the most famous and most discussed monuments in Dura (figs. 109-113).²³ They were discovered in 1932 and were taken to the National Museum in Damascus where they remain on view. The excavators established that a private house in Block L7 was changed into a synagogue.²⁴ The prayer room retained the original dwelling's decoration from 165-200 and consisted of a dado with a marble imitation and a main zone with orthostates. The upper zone was undecorated. The niche containing the Torah scrolls was indicated by modest architecture and marked by depictions of the menorah, the façade of the Temple in Jerusalem and the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham. During the second phase (244-245, dating based on an inscription on a roof tile) the synagogue was monumentalized and, with the exception of the Torah niche, was entirely adorned with a marble imitation in the dado, including figural elements, above which rose three horizontal registers with 28 panels containing some 58 figural scenes (figs. 110-113). Like the previous examples, the paintings display

²³ Balty 1989, 529-530, figs. 190-191; Kasminski-Gdalia 1995, 224-230; Moon 1995; Levine 2000, 234-239; Henderson 2000; Elsner 2001, 281-299; Butcher 2003, 326; Elsner 1998, 215-216 fig. 141; Dirven 2004, 5-9, pls. 1-2; Sommer 2005, 329-332, 337-345, pl. 16-19; Fine 2005, 172-183. Extensive documentation is given by Kraeling 1956 and Weitzmann and Kessler 1990. I will not discuss other synagogues and Christian churches in the Roman world except for the relevant monuments in Dura Europos which are of

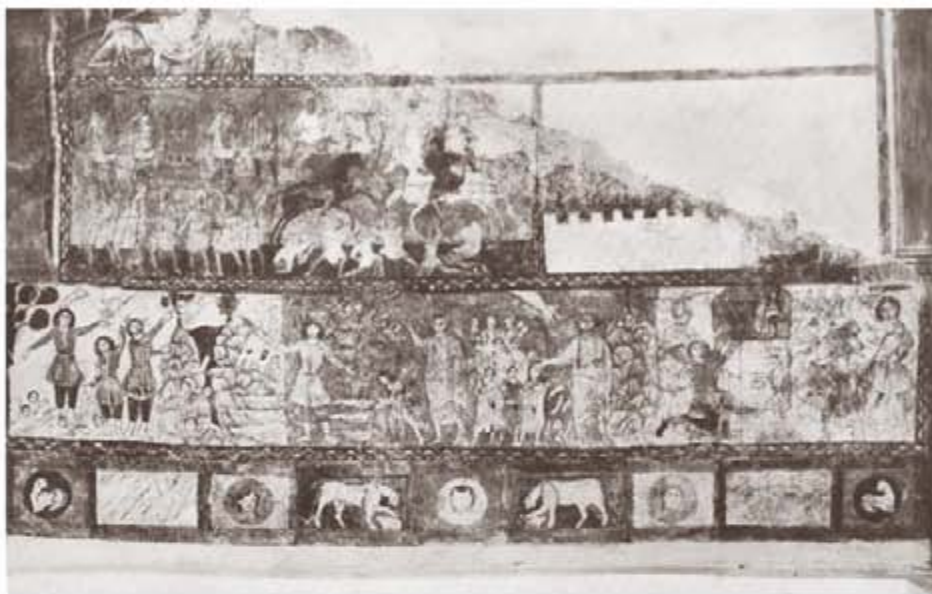
direct interest to the present study. On these monuments see also De Blaauw 2007, 249-261 (synagogues), 261-389 (churches).

²⁴ It might even have been a synagogue in an earlier period. Confusingly, White 1990, 74, mentions three phases of this Jewish cult room. On p. 93 he considers phase 2, namely the second half of the second century AD, as the first phase of the synagogue.



Fig. 110 Dura Europos, Synagogue, west wall, Torah niche
(from Kraeling 1956, plate XIV).

Fig. 111 Dura Europos,
Synagogue, north wall
(from Kraeling 1956,
plate XXI).



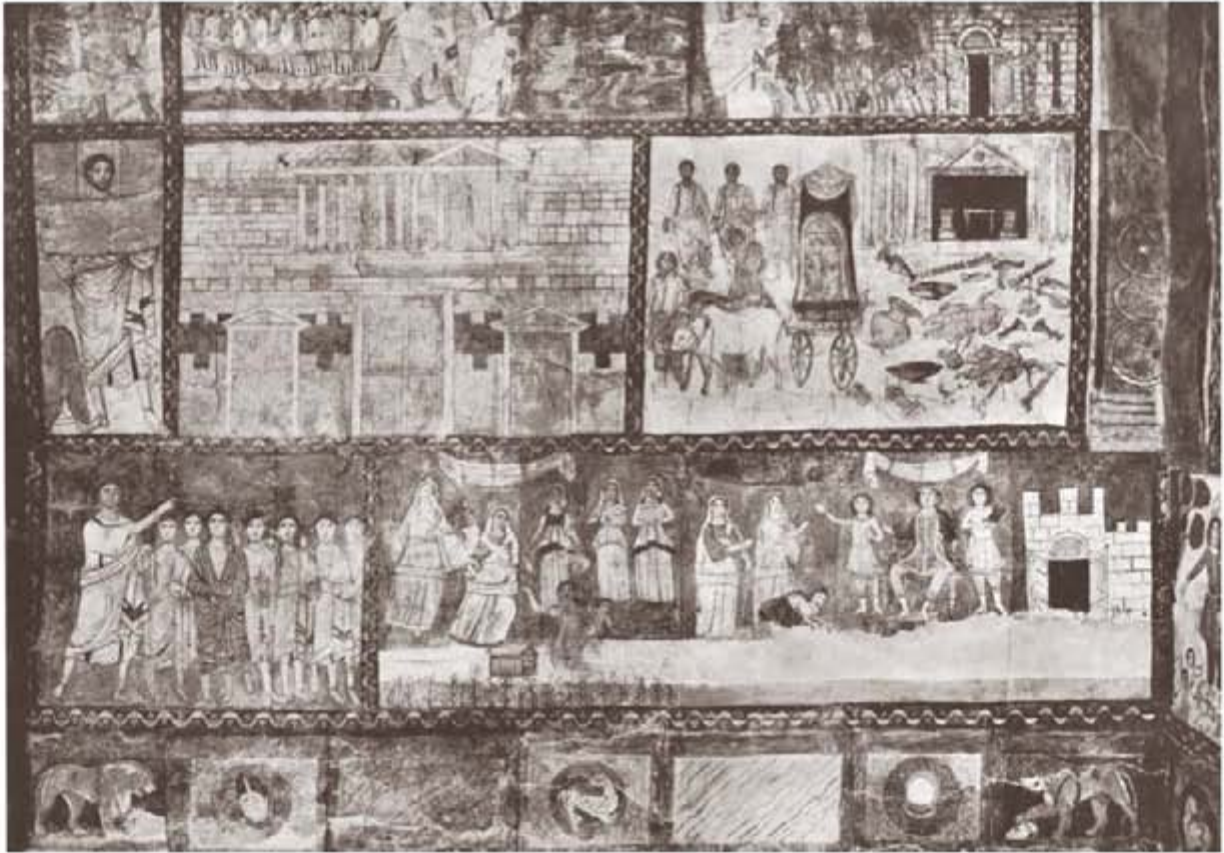


Fig. 112 Dura Europos, Synagogue, west wall, northern part (from Kraeling 1956, plate XIX).

the local style depicting people and their adventures. The representations have been taken from Pentateuch, the Book of the Prophets, the Midrash and rabbinical texts. The viewer would have difficulty identifying the sequence from the holy books but the choice of the themes reflects the notion of Yahweh as the saviour of the God's chosen people. King David is the central figure and is often seen as a messianic person equal to Orpheus.²⁵ Jewish monotheism is also stressed.²⁶

An entirely religious interpretation has been offered by several scholars, including Steven Fine who argues that the paintings match prayers found on fragments of a parchment manuscript from Dura containing a "conglomeration of rabbinic and Biblical formulae".²⁷ The manuscript illustrates the existence of a Jewish community in Dura which welcomed visitors to its services. Fine does not see an "overarching, global theme to the paintings."²⁸ Each scene could form a starting point for a homily of the serving and preaching rabbi. As such, this is the way a Midrash functions. Moreover, the prayers of the individuals could be inspired by scenes chosen by

²⁵ See the synopsis in Levine 2000, 238. Cf. H.L. Kessler in Weitzmann and Kessler 1990, 151-183, who sees a mix of Jewish and Christian elements. Extensively on David and (non-existing) Messianism Fleisher 1998. Dirven 2004, 5 and note 23 clearly states there is no specific iconographic repertoire. See also Fine 2005, 173-174: local variation of centrally conceived rabbinic prayer (Tefillah).

²⁶ Sommer 2005, 343 singles out the history of Elias, the failed offerings of the Ba'als prophets, the crossing of the Red Sea and the Esther scenes as important indications.

²⁷ Fine 2005, 176, 177.

²⁸ Fine 2005, 181 (citation), 182. Cf. Sommer 2005, 343: "Die Wandgemälde konstituieren, in aller Subtilität, einen Kommentar zu biblischen Themen, einen Midrash eigenen Rechts."



Fig. 113 Dura Europos, Synagogue, west wall, southern part (from Kraeling 1956, plate XVIII).

them. By singling out some of the most important ancestors (Abraham, Isaac etc.), the rabbis could emphasize the importance of history and tradition.²⁹ And, I might suggest without having great knowledge of this specific subject, in doing so they also alluded to Roman notions of tradition.

The unique representation raises questions about the origins and interpretations of the scenes. There might have been other similar cult rooms in this area. Dura Europos itself has, as we saw, comparable decorations. What is particularly striking is that the Jewish community in Dura Europos seems to have overlooked the interdiction of the Second Commandment, although in their art there was a common resistance against the depiction of human figures.³⁰ Only motifs like the menorah, the shofar (ram's horn), the lulav (palm branch) and the ethrog (cedar) regularly appear on objects like sarcophagi and sepulchral reliefs as well as in the shape of graffiti in the catacombs of Rome.³¹ We must admit that the Jews in Dura Europos, and possibly those in other remote outposts in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, followed the local trend for colourful images in different artistic media. This trend was rooted in a Parthian-Iranian and Greco-Hellenistic tradition in which there existed a strong preference for figural depictions. Details like the toga and the Polycleitan stance of the

²⁹ Fine 2005, 182-183. Critical notes on Fine's "rabbinocentric and traditional" interpretation have been made by Jodi Magness in her *BMCR* review (2006.04.05).

³⁰ Levine 2000, 278, 337-339 gives examples of figural motifs in other synagogues, mainly on floor mosaics. Paintings:

ibid. 339-340. For mosaics in synagogues, see also Leibner and Miller 2010. Cf. p. 111.

³¹ See Levine 2000, *passim* for these objects, i.a. 285 (s.v. in index). I use his spelling of the terms. On Jewish iconography Levine 2000, 561-579.

single figures betray the connection with the official art.³² The high degree of figurative elements apparently did not offend their belief and has even been viewed as the result of specific rabbinic interpretations. I argue that this choice of figural scenes presented a sharp contrast with the representations of state cults in public temples precisely because of the love of detail. The Jews adopted the trends encountered in other non-official Roman religions, for example the cults for Isis and Mithras. The Diaspora helped bring influences from the non-Jewish world.³³ They manifested their religious difference in a form that differed from the general orthodox practice.³⁴ Kaminski-Gdalia makes a relevant statement, arguing that these Jews were neither iconodules nor iconoclasts and re-interpreted the fashion of oriental narrative reliefs in their synagogue. They conveyed their message of identification by means of the paintings to Jews, Christians and other Dura people alike.³⁵

During the third century, the Jewish community in Dura increased in terms of population and social and political prestige and could thus afford a large temple. They were 'internationally' oriented, as we learn from the inscriptions in various synagogues. L. Michael White even speaks of a "cosmopolitan membership".³⁶ The Jews chose elements from the pagan cultures to adapt their synagogue to the local culture.³⁷

Some scholars interpret the victory scenes in some of these paintings as expressions of Jewish superiority or, at least, fierceness. Elsner argues that "the Synagogue frescoes actively promulgate Judaism by denigrating other religions."³⁸ As a matter of fact, Elsner considers all decorations in sanctuaries in Dura, including the Mithraeum (see Chapter 7), the synagogue and the Christian church, as expressions of cultural resistance, a type of silent opposition against the people who represented Roman power. The frequent appearance of offering scenes would support his view as they show contrasting religious activities in honour of the official gods.³⁹ However, it seems unconvincing to see them as "criticism of the pagan neighbours", as Dirven correctly remarks.⁴⁰ If religions are denigrated, it is those being fought against in the traditional Biblical texts, not contemporary ones in Dura or beyond. Moreover, Dirven clearly explains that the shrines of Bel or the Palmyrene Gods and Zeus Theos were not public sanctuaries, but served for "family religion" (or that of groups in the sense of the *Kultvereine*, as we saw before), according to a custom prevalent in many eastern areas. This implies that decorations are not an expression of patrons competing with each other.⁴¹ The many attendants in the offering scenes stress this

³² Moon 1995, 290-293, fig. 16.10, makes clear that even the nudity of some female figures like the daughter of the Pharaoh, who finds the little Moses in the Nile, can be explained by the Holy Scripture. The nude Mars statue (fig. 16.14) standing on top of a gate of the town abandoned by the Jews, on the other hand, stresses the paganism of the inhabitants, i.e. the religion of the Egyptians (p. 294). Here one finds other examples (figs. 16.7, 16.9 (door of the Temple of Dagon). See Dirven 2004, 5-6 for various interpretations of the statues inside the Temple of Dagon. Fine 2005, 180-181, points at reflections of Roman art in the attitude of the worshippers as *orantes*, the scrolls and the shape of the buildings' façades.

³³ Levine 2000, 238, 563-564. Dirven 2004, 8 gives other explanations like that of poor Jews scattered in the Diaspora (not shared by the author!).

³⁴ Compare this colourful synagogue with that in Ostia which lacks figural elements (White 1990, 69-71; Levine 2000, 255-258; M. Floriani Squarciapino, *La synagogue d'Ostie*, in *Ostie* 2001, 272-277; Pensabene 2007, 532-536). The most detailed study on the Ostia synagogue is Olsson, Mitternacht and Brandt 2001. A new project is currently under-

way by L. Michael White.

³⁵ Kaminski-Gdalia 1995, 230: "*Ni iconodules, ni iconoclastes, les juifs des II^{ème} et III^{ème} siècles en diaspora mésopotamienne, en milieu païen, gorgé d'images et d'idoles, ont réinterprété le principe des bas-reliefs narratifs d'orient.*

Peu préoccupés d'esthétique, ils ont mis leur peinture au service d'un message identitaire à transmettre aux fidèles, membres de la communauté, mais aussi aux païens 'craignant Dieu', 'proélytes de la porte' et encore aux chrétiens voisins, dans le contexte d'une polémique sur la validité ou la caducité de l'Alliance et de la Torah."

³⁶ White 1990, 97. Cf. Levine 2000, 340 who refers to the art of painting in Dura Europos.

³⁷ A good sketch of this development in White 1990, 93-97. Cf. Elsner 2003.

³⁸ Elsner 2001, 299. Sommer 2005, 344 follows Elsner.

³⁹ Elsner 2001, esp. 272-275, 301-304. Cf. Elsner 1998, 216.

⁴⁰ Dirven 2004, 6-7 (her words).

⁴¹ Dirven 2004, 12. Contra Elsner 1998, 216. Dirven could have referred to Bollmann 1998, who discusses shrines in Herculaneum and Ostia (see *supra*).

Fig. 114 Dura Europos, Church, Good Shepherd above the baptism basin on the west wall (from Kraeling 1967, pl. XXXI).



familiar character which, indeed, is lacking from traditional offering scenes in the Roman world but common to Greek votive reliefs from the late Classical and Hellenistic period. Dirven points to the private character of the architecture of the shrines, including that of the Christian church and the synagogue. She explains the increase in decorations in the 240s in terms of the increase of the Roman military occupation.⁴² Finally, it must be remembered that most gods and their iconographies stem from Palmyra⁴³ and prove the substantial presence of Palmerenes in this town. As to Elsner's proposal one might also argue that all decorations have a similar outlook and correspond with a local *koine*. They are neither working against each other nor against the imperial order. In sum, Kamiski-Gdalia hit the mark very well.

THE CHURCH

Block M8 inside the western wall and next to the Temple of Zeus Kyrios contains the scant remains of a Christian church constructed within an existing house.⁴⁴ A small chapel with a baptismal fount was built in the open courtyard's northern side around 230-240 when other cult buildings were also built in the east section. As far as we know, the murals in this small room are the first unequivocally Christian murals in the history of art. All decorations were removed after the excavation in the 1930s and transferred to Yale (figs. 114-115).

The basin containing holy water at the western side is covered by a niche with marbling and columns in the same guise. Its ceiling is blue and the lunette-shaped background shows a good shepherd with his flock on

⁴² Dirven 2004, 4-5. Cf. above Chapter 7, section on the Dura Mithraeum: the worshippers are portrayed here.

⁴³ Dirven 2004, 13.

⁴⁴ C. Hopkins in Rostovtzeff 1934, 238-253 (architecture);

P.V.C. Bauer in Rostovtzeff 1934, 254-288 (paintings); Kraeling 1967, 40-88; Perkins 1973, 29, 52-55; Sommer 2005, 334-337, with references; De Blaauw 2007, 278-279, 284.

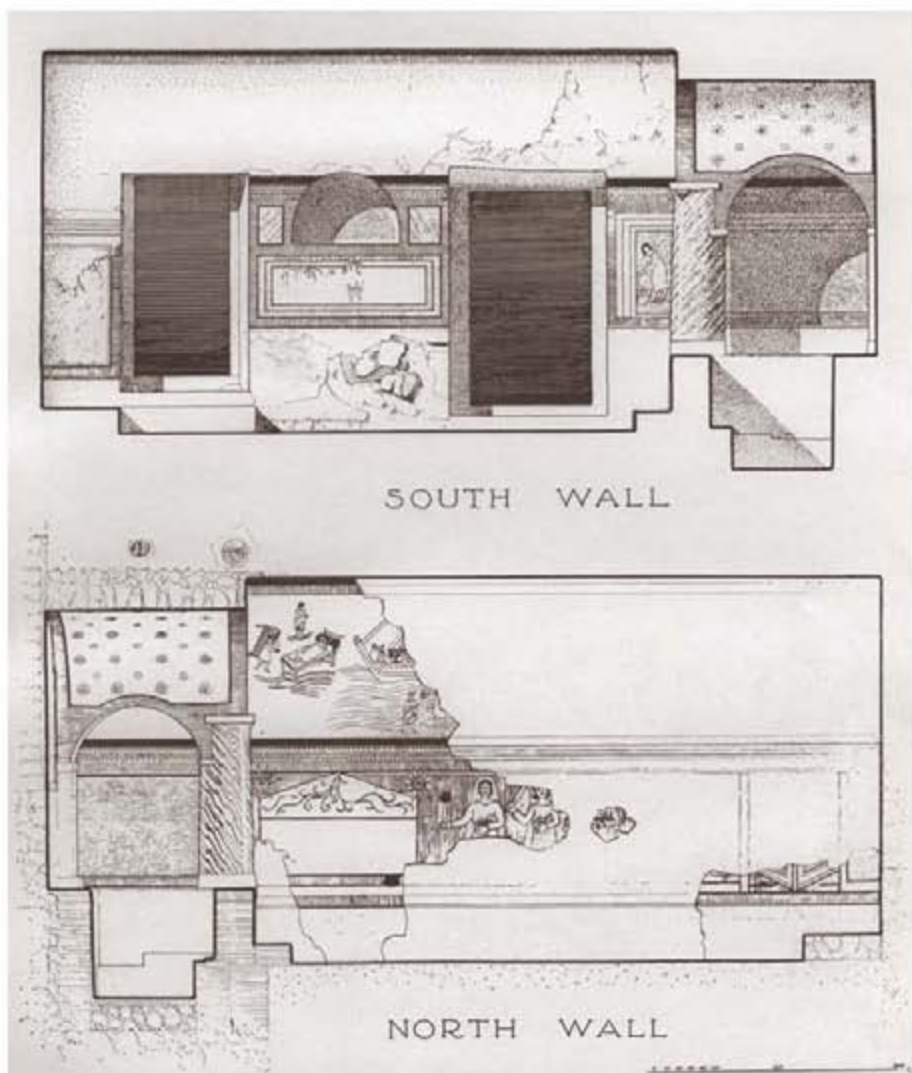


Fig. 115 Dura Europos, Church, reconstruction of the decorations of the north and south walls (from Kraeling 1967, pl. XLVI).

the right (John 10.11-15; fig. 114). The man is young, wears a tunic (or even the *exomis*, typical garment of a Greco-Roman workman) and has a large sheep on the shoulders. He does not represent Christ but is a metaphor of baptism in that the baptised will become members of the Lord's flock. In the lower section a later decoration shows Adam and Eve flanking the Tree of Eden with the snake (Genesis 3.1-7). Since their genitals are covered the scene also alludes to the episodes of eating the forbidden fruit and ensuing shame.

The side walls have two registers with unframed figural scenes (fig. 115). In the lower part of the walls a white band separates the floor from the first register. The north and east walls depict Mary Magdalene, Salome and Mary the mother of James visiting the tomb of Christ on Easter Sunday (Mark 16.1-18). The feet of five women walking towards two (partially preserved) half-open doors can be seen on the eastern wall. The north wall has remains of three ladies next to a large white sarcophagus-like block followed by two half open doors that might represent the next stage in the story, namely the empty tomb. The dark red background of this section suggests the interior of the tomb as does the black in the synagogue scenes. On the western wall next to the basin there is the Samaritan woman at the well lifting a bucket from the pithos-like container.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ John 4.5-42. Kraeling 1967, 68-69 gives Rebecca (Genesis 24.10-21) as an alternative, but also explains his good rea-

sons for preferring the New Testament story.

The upper sections on the north wall show two stories. On the left, next to the niche, a man carries a bed on his back, whereas another man is lying on a bed next to a standing Jesus. The two men represent the same person and the right to left sequence tells the story of either the paralytic from Capernaum (Mark 2.1-12) or that of the pool of Bethesda (John 5.2-9).⁴⁶ Right next to this seen are Jesus and S. Peter walking on the Sea of Galilee under a grand vessel occupied by at least five men of whom the four left are entirely preserved and are shown gesticulating (Matth. 14.22-34, Mark 6.45-61). The western wall has no preserved paintings and three panels can be distinguished on the southern wall. Excavators identified garden representations on this side and tentatively interpreted them as the Garden of the Blessed, rather than Paradise, due to the presence of the first human couple on the opposite wall with the niche. In the middle, between the two doors, an oblong panel shows David after slaying Goliath, whose corpse is lying on the ground (I Samuel 17).⁴⁷ Their names are written in partially incorrect Greek: Δαουίδ and Γολιόδ. This theme appears to be rare in early Christian art, whereas the other themes are rather popular.

The ceiling showed a star-studded dark blue sky, probably with a moon crescent in the centre.

The composition, colour scheme and style of the decoration are similar to those in the other religious buildings in Dura Europos but they seem to be rougher in execution. Apparently, the painters were not very talented but they must have been well instructed because the iconography shows very specific scenes. They all refer to rescue and a prosperous future and also to sin and danger in life. Elsner considers this iconography in light of mystery cults and compares it to the scenes in the Mithraeum. He rightly observes a great difference: here – and in the synagogue – God is absent in the representations, whilst the god dominates the murals and reliefs of Mithraea and other sanctuaries.⁴⁸

CONCLUSIONS

The discussion on Dura Europos as an exceptional case study can be justified by the peculiar character of the cult rooms in this town, mostly decorated in the second quarter of the third century before Dura's destruction in 256. First, we find the numerous shrines for local or regional deities like Bel and Gadde and second we find shrines for more commonly known gods like Mithras. Finally, the synagogue and the Christian church are unique examples. All of them show a great deal of common features. They are rich in figural scenes systemized in horizontal registers and frames, thus giving the viewer a comprehensive picture of the main aspects of the belief. In the cases of the Mithraeum, synagogue and church the painters seem to have taken their material from the sacred texts used in the cult.

⁴⁶ Kraeling 1967, 57-58 gives plausible reasons for accepting the first interpretation, arguing that this is the first impressive deed by Jesus.

⁴⁷ Kraeling 1967, 69 positions it in the lower section like the Woman at the Well (p. 67), but they are on as higher level than the scenes of the Resurrection. When looking atten-

tively at the drawings on pls. XXXIII and XLVI, here fig. 115, we can see that their level is more or less in the middle of the south wall. The scheme from the north and west wall clearly did not continue on the south wall.

⁴⁸ Elsner 1998, 210, 212, 215.

9 Final Remarks

It is clear that while paintings formed an important decorative element in temples, their composition differed only slightly from the general fashions of domestic wall decorations. The shrines were conceived of as the houses of the gods and consequently were adorned with decorations similar to those of the houses of the worshippers, both on inside and outside of the cult building. Such an observation justifies the conclusion that the cult statue and gifts must have drawn almost all the attention of the worshippers. It therefore appears that the rest of the decoration, even lavish reliefs or architectural ornaments, was subordinate to the image of the god.¹ This is especially true for the grand classical temples of the Greek and Roman world and the sanctuaries in the periphery that followed or imitated the Greco-Roman way. During the Roman period, only cult buildings such as Mithraea built by groups of specific worshippers, display a richer and more meaningful iconographic repertoire.

WALL SYSTEMS

Whether we are in Gerasa in Jordan, Elst in the Netherlands or Pompeii in the old *patria* of the Romans, most temple decorations follow the dominant fashion of the time. The decorative systems do not differ from those adorning other buildings and are not specific to cult buildings. Many of the same decorative schemes are found in religious, public and private buildings. As a result, the famous four Pompeian Styles are prevalent in all cult buildings between 200 BC and AD 100, whereas before and after this period temples show the same decorative modes as all other categories of edifices.

As far as ancient written sources refer to decorative systems, they seem to stress the importance of decorations as a way of enriching the cult building. They do not mention specific trends and schemes known to people at the time. Sources mention both older and current trends and also note strange types of decoration.

The decorative schemes in *naoi* and *cellae* generally enhanced notions of value, for example by suggesting walls composed of large limestone or marble blocks (with or without stucco relief). Furthermore, these schemes followed contemporary trends, for example marble imitations and combinations of stucco and real marble on the interior and exterior of the temples where the floors also often displayed rich mosaics in *opus tessellatum* or *opus sectile*. This fashion starts as early as the sixth century BC in Corinth via tiers of isodome blocks of limestone or marble, while the suggestions of columns and architraves were introduced as late as the second century. The reliefs created by means of fine stucco work resulted in impressive wall decoration but grand examples such as late Republican houses and the Basilica in Pompeii are rare. Recent scholarship has linked the introduction of architectural elements other than building blocks in Italy with Delos, but there are few specific historical indications to substantiate this suggestion. The transmission of culture from the Greek world to the west is an example of Hellenisation in the Italic peninsula that is better understood as a more general phenomenon and can also be seen in other areas around the Mediterranean like Israel and Jordan.

Over the course of time across the Roman Empire, the wish to imitate precious materials and recognizable architectural forms was replaced by panel decorations and fancy architecture. These schemes were used both

¹ On this aspect, especially Roman cult statues, see Martin 1987, 7-53.

in the interior and on the exterior of buildings. On exterior walls and in porticoes panel decorations were the preferred compositional schemes because their repetitive character was ideal for filling the long wall surfaces (cf. figs 7, 25-26). The separation between these panels was generally designed according to the actual fashions or local trends and mostly consisted of architectural elements (figs 4-6, 13) or candelabra (figs 36-37, 42, 48). These syntactically simple systems remained in use throughout the Empire. The same is true for the architectural forms that could cover parts of or the entire wall. In the former instance they were combined with panels. During the imperial period the importance of painting diminished because of the increasing use of marble revetment on entire walls or their lower sections. If there was no money to apply real marble plaques, the painters filled in the lower parts of the walls with imitations of marble veneer. These veneers could be rather precise renderings, but we also find elaborate marblings only possible in paint. In some cases the relief used until 100 BC was introduced again in the time of the Empire and made the temples look more venerable thanks to a feigned antiquity (figs 21-24, 75).

The diminished status of painting in the interiors of temples, public buildings, palaces and even houses also caused a reduction in the variety of decorative schemes in the remaining parts of the walls. As a rule, wall painting grew less complicated and from the third century onwards its formal language became even more stylised.

These 'official' styles were found across the Greco-Roman world. Yet, there are exceptions to the rule. These occur in buildings dedicated to gods that did not belong to the traditional pantheon of Greeks and Romans. Mithraea and other more or less exotic cult rooms obtained an entirely different sort of decoration that did not follow the fashion of the day (figs 89-105). They were an expression of the cult language in which a greater emphasis was placed on the iconography of the god and other persons involved in the cult. Since these cult rooms were not only the houses of the god but also the rooms where the worshippers came together, the paintings and other forms of decoration had to satisfy both categories, the god and the believers.

FIGURAL ELEMENTS

Our collection of data concerning decorations in ancient temples shows that figural motifs are rather rare in the cellae. An exception can be made for some cult-specific complexes and for the shrines in the town of Dura Europos (figs 106-115). We rarely find a lot of iconographic variety in classical temples. There is in short a clear dichotomy between the classical temple – simple, but solemn – and the shrines of gods who do not belong to the Greek or Roman pantheon and who received their worshippers within the cult rooms. Figural elements in the classical temple consisted of mobile works of art like statues, tripods and – hung on the walls – weapons, reliefs and wooden painted panels. Mural paintings were sometimes described by the literary sources when they were particularly exceptional, but none of those has survived. Based on existing surviving material, it appears that temples in the Roman provinces have more figural elements than those in the centre of the empire. This is either due to the vagaries of preservation or to a special wish of Romans and local elite members in the provinces to emphasize the gods living in the shrine and their history for the benefit of visitors.

The themes of the figural scenes often have a relationship with the particular god venerated in a temple, but this is not always the case. Patrons who dictated the themes are almost uniquely known from literary sources. In the Roman cases we deal principally with examples of the *pictura triumphalis*: the scenes that eternalise the victorious general and the relationship with the god was possibly only related to a *votum* made by the (future) conqueror and not with a specific god. Part of the *manubiae* could have been spent for the decoration of such a temple and, especially during the Republican period, the wall paintings formed part of that decoration next to reliefs and architectural adornments.²

² See the discussion on the destiny of *manubiae* in Aberson 1994, 10-38 and Orlin 1997, 117-139, with different conclusions.

Some cult buildings have a cult-specific iconography, as evidenced by the Mithraea, the Iseum in Pompeii and the rooms for the cult of the Emperor. In the latter case it would have been immediately clear to the visitor which Emperor was worshipped in the *sanctum* for which a less specific decoration would not be at all effective. To this group also belong those temples where victories were celebrated, starting with the Temple of Theseus erected by Cimon in Athens. The three cult centres for the emperors in Herculaneum also belong to this category, where the presence of the emperor, however, is not defined by means of the paintings but by the sculpted images, which shows the predominance of sculpture in the form of a cult statue or a portrait of the Emperor rather than painted images.

In the Mithraea the presence of the god and his cult personnel and members can be experienced in the most intensive way. When existing private dwellings were transformed into Mithraea, it is striking that paintings belonging to the corresponding previous building phases often remained on view and in use, for example in Rome and Ostia. Did the worshippers lack money for redecoration or did the owner prevent a too radical change to his *domus* for unknown reasons? The latter might be likely in some cases, but the preference for a statue or sculpted relief instead of paintings may also have played a role. More than in other cult buildings, one observes a mix of medium techniques (painting, stucco relief, mosaic and sculpture) in these sanctuaries dedicated to Mithras.

The Iseum in Pompeii shows the increasing influence of Egyptian religion in the Roman world. The decorations of the more or less public rooms do not differ considerably from those in contemporary houses, whereas a closed room has unique representations of Egyptian gods that do not match any other depiction in the town, neither formally nor iconographically. As to this 'mystery room' and those of Mithras one might even ask whether their decorations were produced by ordinary workmen or by members of the cult community who maintained the silence required by the cult in order to preserve its secrets.

The themes represented illustrate the function of the building and form a part of the veneration of the god or one of his worshippers. The literary sources only record this category of themes and do not mention wall decorations, which apparently were not considered worthy of description. As in the private sphere the images barely serve to illustrate the function of the rooms they decorate and were not necessary to enhance the holy atmosphere of the temples. In general it is true that the 'holy' paintings had the same function as decorations in the private sphere, namely that of decorating rooms.

LOCATION OF WALL PAINTINGS

Here it is important to take into account the accessibility of the various rooms of a temple complex, as this, inevitably, impacts the visibility of the paintings. The location of paintings, either described in ancient sources or found as fragments in the temple's debris, is not always known but some remarks can be made on the basis of the textual sources discussed in the first chapter of this study. Without pretending to give a full analysis of the cultic functions of the temple and its rooms, both of which are outside the scope of this study, I want to refer to some relevant lines in a letter of Pliny the Younger. In letter 9.39 Pliny writes to Mustius that he has to restore and enlarge an old Temple of Ceres in one of his *villae* (*reficienda est mihi aedes ... in melius et maius* – I must restore the temple for the better and the larger). Then he writes:

Videor ergo munifice simul religiose facturus, si aedem quam pulcherrimam exstruxero, addidero porticus aedi, illam ad usum deae has ad hominum.

It appears that I will be both a big spender and a pious man if I rebuild the temple as beautifully as possible and add porticoes to the temple, the first for use by the goddess, the latter for use by the people.

This study of painted shrines shows that images were located in public rooms. An exception is made for mystery cults open only to certain sections of the population.

The wall decoration of the naos or cella normally rarely contained figural motifs and when present they played a secondary rôle. This was the living room of the divinity who was materialized by means of the cultic image. A plain decoration fitted the austere atmosphere. Even in the case of Olympia images were to be seen only in the anterior part of the sanctuary, accessible or at least visible to the athletes through the open doors. If the sources are silent about the location of the images, this probably means that they were applied to a highly visible spot, like the exterior walls and the porticoes. The two fictitious temples in Carthage and Liternum, immortalised in the *ekphraseis* by Virgil and Silius Italicus, are good examples of this practice. So are the preserved examples of the shrines for Apollo and Isis in Pompeii (Chapter 3 and 7). Similarly, the maps in the Roman temples of Tellus and Mater Matuta (Chapter 1) must have been visible to passers-by and visitors. Their decorative value was as important as that of the marble *Forma Urbis Romae* in the Severan phase of the *Templum Pacis* in Rome.

CONCLUSION

I hope to have made clear that we cannot consider ‘temple paintings’ as a distinct decorative genre of its own, next to house painting, for they lack specific proper rules, shapes and contents that differ from secular decorations. Wall decorations in temples are akin to those in houses and public buildings. This similarity can be explained by the fact that they decorated the houses of the gods and could communicate to the visitors the suggestion that these gods were living in appropriate quarters, namely the homely decorated temples. As in private dwellings, figural elements were decorative and did not necessarily serve to emphasize the religious atmosphere.

This lack of distinction between sacred and secular decorations does not mean that a study dedicated to this category of monuments and their decoration is meaningless. The degree of correspondence between the decoration of sacred and secular realms needed to be investigated. The decorators of temples strived to create an atmosphere of wealth and happiness for the gods. If opulence was not the first characteristic one associated with mural painting in general, this goal is clearly seen in the sacred context. While the figural images were decorative, they could also illustrate the world of the god. When we consider the rituals within the walls of the sanctuary, or in the naos or cella itself, these images had a greater importance in that they provided participants with visual support.

In conclusion, if we could get into an ancient temple preserved in its full material form, including its mural decorations, we would consider the wall paintings as an apt means to create ‘divine interiors’. This study provides an insight into the god’s dwelling and enables the reader to enter the temple and experience the sacred atmosphere. As a result, the reader will be somewhat more familiar with the houses of the superior powers who were so influential in Greek and Roman society.

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Colour plates

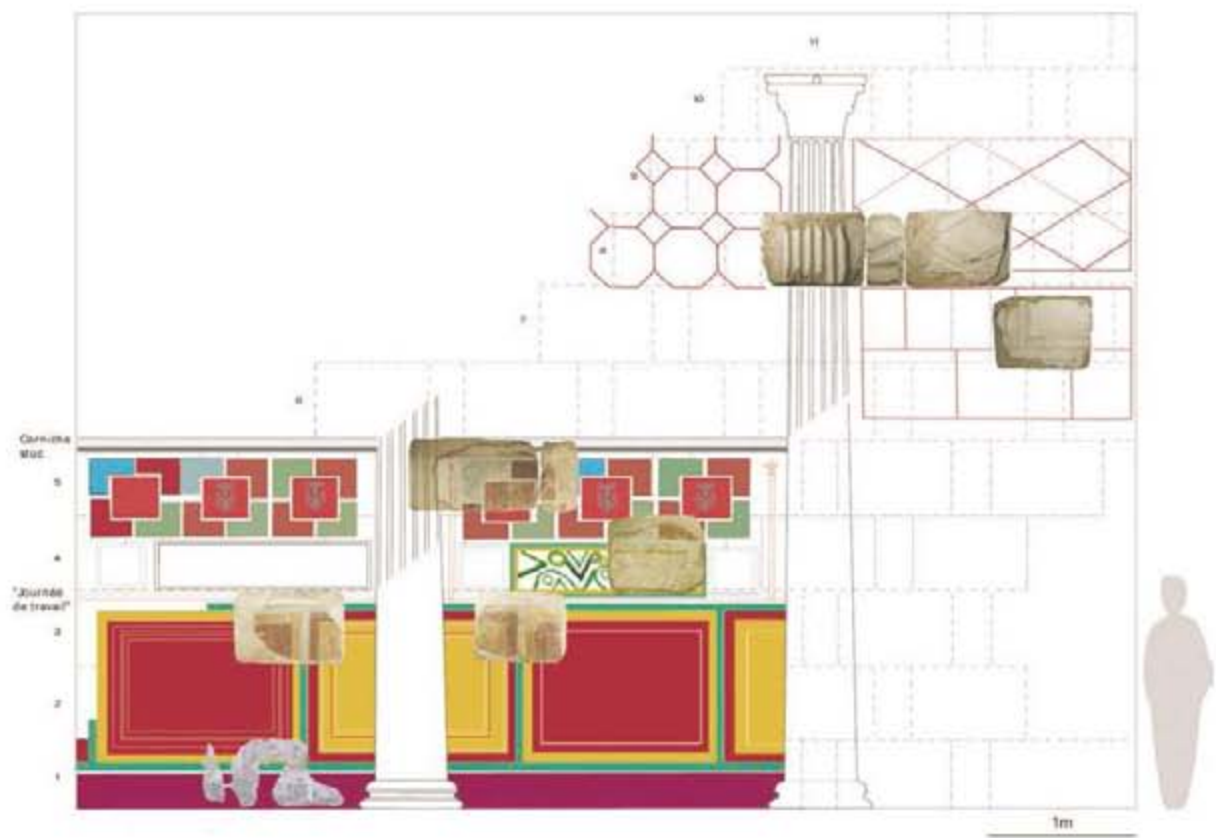


Fig. 3 Gerasa, Temple, reconstruction of the decoration by H. Eristov.



Fig. 7 Nemi, Temple of Diana (photo B.D. Rous).



Fig. 8 Nemi, Temple of Diana (photo B.D. Rous).



Fig. 11 Sulmona, paintings on the north and east walls of the cella of the Hercules Temple, around 80-70 BC (Van Wouterghem 1989, pl. IV, with permission of the author).



Fig. 12 Sulmona, paintings on the south and west walls of the cella of the Hercules Temple, around 80-70 BC (Van Wouterghem 1989, pl. IV, with permission of the author).



Fig. 15 Brescia, Republican Temple, western shrine, wall decoration (photo L. Monopoli and L. Caldera, Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia).

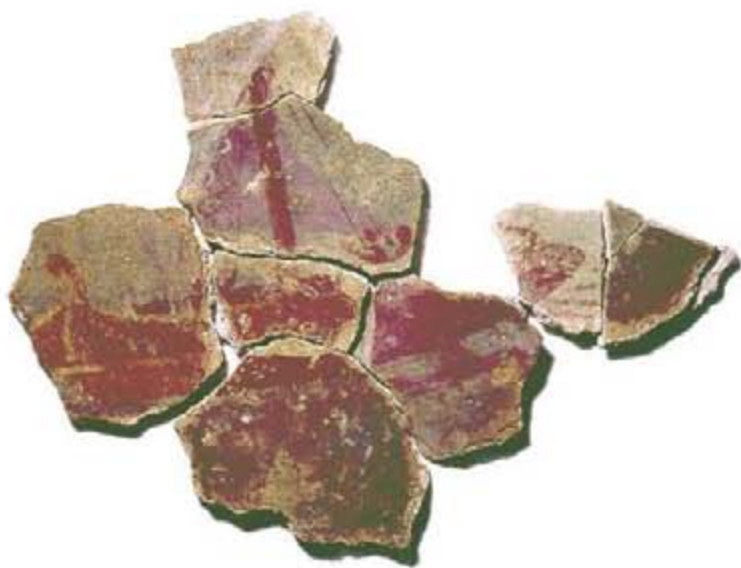


Fig. 16 Brescia, Republican Temple, painting of a ship (photo L. Monopoli and L. Caldera, Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia).



Fig. 20 Ostia, Temple of Bona Dea, portico (photo S.T.A.M. Mols).



Fig. 22 Pompeii, Temple of Jupiter, cella (reconstruction from Mazois III, 1829, pl. 36).

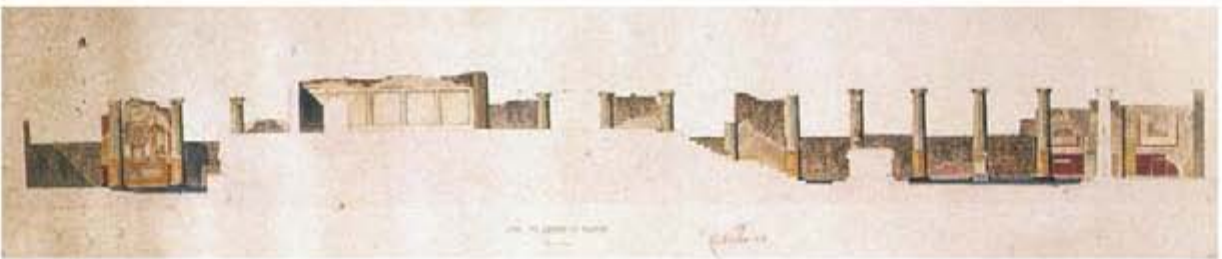


Fig. 25 Pompeii, Temple of Apollo, transsection of the portico, 1823 drawing by the French architect F.-E. Callet (from *Pompei* 1981, 148-148).



Fig. 35 Pompeii, Temple of Apollo, portico, central scene, after AD 62: scenes of figs. 34 and 36, watercolour by F. Morelli from 1818 (= *PPM Disegnatori*, 112-115).



Fig. 38 Champlieu, temple candelabrum with small pinax, monkey (?), and phoenix, now Musée Vivenel, Compiègne (photo A. Barbet).

Fig. 39 Jublains, temple, exterior wall of precinct, pigeon (photo A. Barbet).





Fig. 41 Saint-Germain d'Esteuil, temple, seated person with inscription ABOVNV, now Depot of Verteuil (photo A. Barbet).

Fig. 40 Saint-Germain d'Esteuil, temple, person in front of group, now Depot of Verteuil (photo A. Barbet).



Fig. 42 Eu, Bois-l'Abbé, temple, candelabrum with two lyres (photo A. Barbet).



Fig. 50 Dakhleh Oasis, Temple of Tutu (photo O. Kaper).



Fig. 51 Dakhleh Oasis, Temple of Tutu, dado decoration (photo O. Kaper).

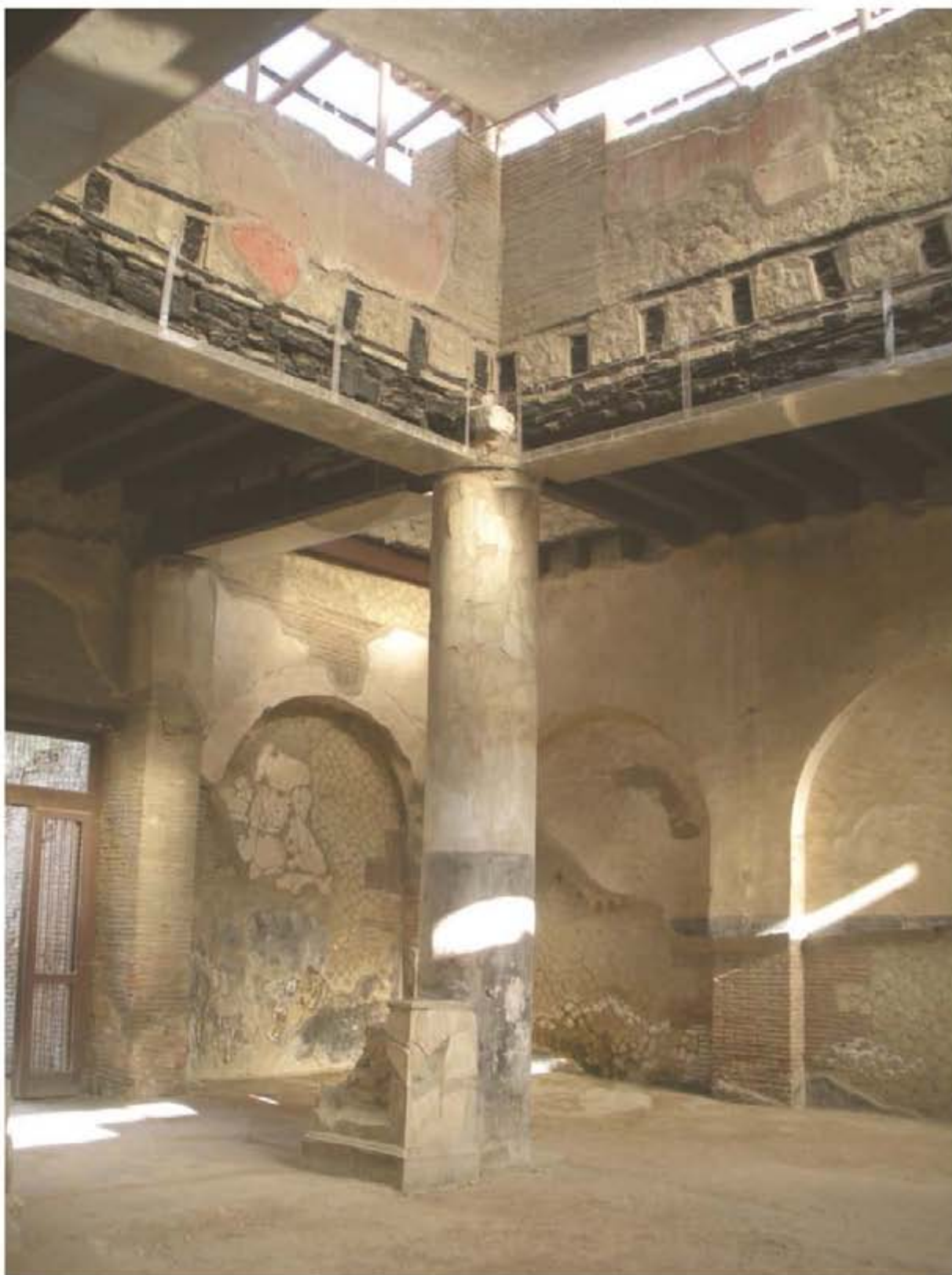


Fig. S2 Herculaneum, *Aedes Augustalium*, unfinished murals (photo author).



Fig. 53 Herculaneum, *Aedes Augustalium*, painted *sacellum* (photo author).



Fig. 54 Herculaneum, *Aedes Augustalium*, Herakles and Acheloo on the north wall (photo author).



Fig. 55 Herculaneum, *Aedes Augustalium*, Herakles on the Olympus with Hera, Athena and Zeus as a rainbow (photo author).



Fig. 56 Herculaneum, *Augusteum*, Theseus and Minotauros after the restoration of 2007 (photo Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome).



Fig. 57 Herculaneum, *Augusteum*, Herakles and Telephos (photo author).



Fig. 58 Herculaneum, *Augusteum*, Cheiron and Achilles (photo author).



Fig. 62 Herculaneum, *Augusteum*, Herakles kills the snakes (photo author).



Fig. 61 Herculaneum, *Augusteum*, reconstruction of the niches (montage author, with the use of figs 60-64 and the plan from Cochin and Bellicard 1752, pl. 5).



Fig. 65 Ostia, *Sacellum* of Silvanus, west wall (photo S.T.A.M. Mols).



Fig. 68 Ostia, *Sacellum* of Silvanus, south wall with Silvanus (photo S.T.A.M. Mols).

Fig. 79 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, northern portico, section with architectural elements, naval battle and frieze with Egyptian motifs, after AD 62 (from *De Caro*, 2006a, page 76).



Fig. 80 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, eastern portico, Harpocrates (photo author).



Fig. 81 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, eastern portico, priest, after AD 62, now MN Naples (from *Alla ricerca* pl. VII).



Fig. 82 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, cult minister from the portico (from *Alla ricerca* pl. VII).



Fig. 84 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, south wall of *ekklesiasterion* (from *Alla ricerca* 1992, pl XVI).



Fig. 85 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, south wall of *ekklesiasterion*, landscape with sarcophagus of Osiris (from *Alla ricerca*, pl. XIII).



Figure 86 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, south wall of *ekklesiasterion*, Isis and Io in Canopus (from *Alla ricerca*, pl. X).



Fig. 87 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, north wall of *sacrarium*, AD 62, fragment with animals (from *De Caro*, 2006a, page 76).



Fig. 88 Pompeii, Temple of Isis, north wall of *sacrarium*, AD 62, fragment with animals (from *De Caro*, 2006a, page 76).



Fig. 89 Ostia, Mithraeum of C. Lucretius Menander, right side wall (photo S.T.A.M. Mols).



Fig. 90 Ostia, Mithraeum of C. Lucretius Menander, entrance wall (photo S.T.A.M. Mols).

Fig. 92 Ostia, Mithraeum of the Painted Walls, wall with lost Mithras and altar, mural of prae-nymphaeum phase (photo S.T.A.M. Mols).



Fig. 93 Ostia, Mithraeum of the Painted Walls, right wall: *nymphus*, *miles*, *heliodromus*, *Cautopates* (photo S.T.A.M. Mols).



Fig. 94 Ostia, Mithraeum of the Painted Walls, ante-room, right wall, four *leones* (photo S.T.A.M. Mols).



Fig. 95 Ostia, Mithraeum of the Seven Gates, back wall with Mithras niche (photo S.T.A.M. Mols).



Fig. 96 Ostia, Mithraeum of the Seven Gates, garden, painting (2005 photo S.T.A.M. Mols).



Fig. 98. Ostia, *Sacellum* of the Three Aisles, back wall (photo S.T.A.M. Mols).



Fig. 99 Ostia, *Sacellum* of the Three Aisles (photo S.T.A.M. Mols).



Fig. 102 Dura Europos, Mithraeum, side wall, hunt of Mithras (photo L. Dirven).



Fig. 103 Huarte, Mithraeum, north wall of ante-room, Persian rider (Mithras?) with black Siamese twins (photo M. Gawlikowski).

Fig. 104 Huarte, Mithraeum, north wall of Mithras room, city wall with hairy heads (photo M. Gawlikowski).





Fig. 106 Dura Europos, Temple in Block M5, helmeted head (photo C. Allag).



Fig. 108 Dura Europos, Temple of Zeus Theos, fragment from one of the side walls with Bithnanaia, now depot at Yale (photo L. Dirven).



Fig. 109 Dura Europos, Synagogue west (back) and north walls (photo L. Dirven).